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THE

HISTORY

THE BRITISH EMPIRE,

FROM

THE ACCESSION OF JAMES THE FIRST.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED A REVIEW OF THE PROGRESS OF ENGLAND FROM THE SAXON PERIOD TO THE LAST YEAR OF THE REIGN OF QUEEN ELIZABETH, 1603.

BY JOHN MACGREGOR, M.P.

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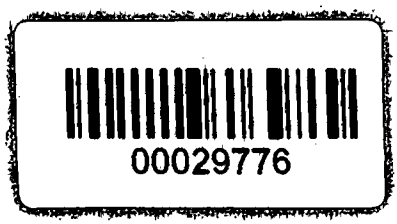
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PREFACE

TO

THE COMMONWEALTH AND THE PROTECTORATE.

THERE is no portion of the History of the British Empire so instructive as the History of the Long Parliament, the Commonwealth, and the Protectorate. Yet in the English language we are unable to discover any account of this important period, altogether free from the bias of political illiberality, or from the intolerance of religious zeal. It is a portion of our history, of which I think it may be truly said, that it has not been written with the mind, or in the spirit, of that impartial discrimination and judgment which are indispensable qualifications in the intellectual capacity of a true and philosophical historian. Rapin, although his account of the Commonwealth is brief, may perhaps be considered as the most unbiassed historian of the age of Cromwell. Clarendon not only wrote his history in a disordered spirit of religious and political animosity, during his last banishment, but his otherwise interesting, though,

with its unbreakable periods, tedious history, abounds with falsehoods. It is long since the world has decided, that the History of Charles I., of the Commonwealth and Protectorate, as written by Hume, is utterly unworthy of the sagacity and judgment of a sound and impartial historian. Burnet, whom M. Chasles designates *l'Evêque conspirateur* (the conspirator bishop), as well as the Puritan Neal, the Republican Brodie, and the Democrat Catherine Macaulay, all condemn the usurpation by Cromwell; while they all justify the revolution against Charles I.

Dr. Lingard, whose history is generally impartial, and whose arrangement of facts is skilful, although his style is cold, writes in the temper of a mere priest, when Ireland, Religion, the Long Parliament, and Oliver Cromwell, are the subjects under his review. Mrs. Catherine Macaulay condemns all men and all measures which are at variance with her darling republic. Mr. Disraeli, the elder, has written four volumes on the unfortunate Stuart king; but he has not written a history. His work consists of one long eulogy on the virtues, the honour, the truth, the integrity, and moderation of Charles I., and of ceaseless vituperation against Cromwell and all the Commonwealth men. Mr. Godwin's History of the Commonwealth is the most impartial work in English on the Civil War and the Commonwealth; but he has written generally in a spirit which could never forgive Cromwell for dissolving the "Rump" of the Long Parliament. Mr. Brodie has narrated events with enthusiastic skill, and he would have written a

fair history of this remarkable period, if he could have divested his sentiments and judgment of the bias of a sectarian. Mr. Malcolm Laing, the author of the "History of Scotland from the Union of the Crowns to the Union of the Kingdoms," has related with more political sagacity the events of the Civil War and the Commonwealth; but he does not seem to have possessed the faculty of discrimination necessary to penetrate or comprehend the motives and passions—the plots and designs—of those individuals who acted the most conspicuous parts in the historical and political drama of the Seventeenth Century. Dr. Vaughan, who has written a short account of the history of the Dynasty of the Stuarts, including a brief sketch of the Commonwealth, has also written in two volumes the History of England, during the same period. It is by far the most impartial of all the accounts I have examined, although I am sometimes compelled to differ from the conclusions arrived at by this unbiassed historian.

During the Protectorate, no monarch was more highly flattered than Oliver Cromwell; but after the Restoration, most of those flatterers, including his secretary, Thurloe, became the most scurrilous writers against his character, his exploits, and his administration; and from the day that Charles II. returned to Whitehall, there has been scarcely a writer who has given the world an impartial history of England from the accession of his father to the restoration of the Stuarts. Dr. Harris, a dissenting minister, has written the lives, in what he has been pleased to call "after the manner of Bayle," of the first three Stuarts, and also a "Life of Oliver

Cromwell," into which he has crowded a countless multitude of facts and falsehoods; and he displays throughout a spirit of sectarian zeal, an ignorance of the world and of public affairs, which render his volumes one of the dullest and most unreadable of biographies.

The Rev. Mark Noble, a rector of the Church, has written two volumes on Cromwell and his relatives, containing much valuable materials for history; but his narrations and reflections are evidently the labours of a man of amiable heart, weak intellect, great industry, and obscure judgment.

Mr. Carlyle has edited a collection of the most valuable letters and discourses of Oliver Cromwell. His researches have been indefatigable. His labours must surely have been occupations of real affection; for he makes the Lord Protector stand up, and act, and speak as a hero,—without fear, reproach, or stain, whom the author worships in ecstatic raptures. Mr. Carlyle cannot find—or at least he will not allow—any blemish in the character of the victorious general, and the successful usurper. Yet we ought to be grateful to Mr. Carlyle; for he has done more justice than most English writers to the character of Cromwell. Mr. Disraeli, the elder, and Mr. Carlyle, are at the extremes of political and historical antagonism.

We have also "Memoirs of Oliver Cromwell and his Sons, by Oliver Cromwell, a descendant of the family,"—a work consisting of nothing original, but an useful collection of numerous authorities and long quotations, with the view of justifying the proceedings of Oliver Cromwell and the court which

was illegally formed at Westminster for the trial and condemnation of Charles. I.* We have also a short life of Cromwell by Dr. Southey, which, of all modern biographies, I cannot help regarding as the least philosophical and the most intolerant.

A distinguished French author, M. de Chateaubriand, has presented the world with a work on the Four Stuarts, into which he has infused the fertility of his imagination and the brilliancy of his genius; but, as justly remarked by M. d'Aubigné, "we find in it the preoccupations and the prejudices of the author of Bonaparte and the Bourbons."

M. Villemain has written a History of Cromwell, which was published at Paris in 1819.† This author has written with great ability, and represents persons, facts, actions, exploits,—the king, the Parliament, and the Lord Protector—as if passing in life, language, and action before our immediate view, and brings us back, as it were, to the realities of the Cromwellian age. But the work of M. Villemain is not free from some, no doubt unintentional, misrepresentations, and several erroneous conclusions. The History of the Revolution of England, meaning that which commenced with the Long Parliament, by Mons. Guizot, and including his recently published Discourse on that Revolution, are both skilfully arranged and elegantly written; but high Conservative, or what in England we would term High Church and Tory

* There is a work also on Cromwell by Thomwess Cromwell, apparently not a descendant of the Protector's family. Dr. Southey says his work is composed in "too ambitious a style."

† Histoire d'Olivier Cromwell d'après les Mémoires du Temps et les Recueils Parliamentaires. Par Mons. Villemain. 2 tomes, 8vo. Paris, 1819. Mr. Carlyle, however, says: "The work of M. Villemain is unluckily a rather ignorant and shallow one." I cannot agree to this conclusion. It may not be profound in its philosophy, but it does not apostrophise metaphysical idealism.

principles and sentiments, pervade the whole of that delightful, though defective, history. M. d'Aubigné, the celebrated historian of the Reformation, has lately published a work on the Protector and the English Republic.* It includes some of the letters and discourses of Cromwell edited by Mr. Carlyle, whose eulogies are all approved of by M. d'Aubigné. It assumes to be an accompaniment of Mr. Carlyle's work, as well as a *rehabilitation* of Cromwell; and may be regarded more as a volume of facts, extracts, and pious encomiums on the pure character and Christian sincerity of Cromwell, than an impartial history of the eventful age of the English Republic.

I cannot pass over without praise the admirable volume of M. Chasles,† which, with some defects, is the most just portrait, yet presented to the world, of Cromwell's mind and character.

The foregoing are the principal works known to the world, exclusive of those of Whitelock, Rushworth, Thurloe, Ludlow, Burton, and other contemporaries, whose writings and compilations embrace the history of the first sixty years of the Seventeenth Century. Besides these, there are countless other volumes, and a multitude of pamphlets and manuscripts, which treat of the same period.

I have availed myself in this and the following volume, of the most authentic public records, the correspondence of foreign ministers at the court of London, original letters, state papers, and various documents procured in the capitals, or transcribed

* Le Protecteur ou la Republique d'Angleterre. Par J. H. Merle d'Aubigné. Paris, 1848.

† Olivier Cromwell, sa Vie privée, ses Discours publics, sa Correspondance particuliere, &c. Par Philarete Chasles, Professeur au Collège de France. Paris, 1847.

from the public libraries, of the principal states of Europe; and to which reference will be found in the foot notes. Nor have I dreaded the contagious danger of being infected with bias in my judgment, from the examination of the principal English, French, German, Italian, or Spanish historians, whether their statements or opinions are favourable or adverse either to the Stuarts or their opponents. I did not avoid reading Hume, although Dr. Lingard pretends that he did so, in order to produce a history entirely original. I very much doubt the Reverend Doctor's assertion; but if it be a truthful one, it may account in some degree for the palpable indifference which pervades his style, as compared with that of almost every elegant historian.

I have endeavoured to follow the maxim of Cicero, to guard against received opinions dictated by rivalry or hatred. The evidence must be weighed and distrusted, although necessary to be often referred to, of the accomplished Whitelock,—the treacherous Thurloe,—the violent Ludlow,—the pliant Rushworth,—and the Royalists Clarendon, Ormond, and Broghill.*

My object has been to narrate facts, to describe

* Mr. Carlyle designates Whitelock "a mountain of lies," and Rushworth "a coagulation of stupidity." He does not even spare Mr. Hallam. I have in the foot notes referred frequently to the works of partisans, as their very prejudices and falsehoods often afford a key to unlock the truth. Such are the *Elenchus Motuum* of Dr. Bates, a man of pliant conscience; the *Behemoth* of Hobbes, who not only treats Cromwell, but human nature and humanity, with contempt; A Short View of the Troubles of England (Oxford, fol., 1681), by the Archæologian Dugdale, who writes furiously against the Puritans; Memoirs of Daniel Holles, 1678, who, being an intemperate and disappointed man, declares Cromwell "a coward." The Royalist, Sir Philip Warwick's, Memoirs, London, 1701, and Dr. Baillie, in his Original Letters (new edition, 1845), although a Presbyterian, and T. May, in his History of the Parliament of England, 1650, although a Republican, have the magnanimity to speak more justly of him. Gregoirio Leti

events, to draw characters, and form opinions, if possible, without bias. I have recorded no event without having, what I considered, the best authority for my statements; although I have had occasion frequently to differ from the historians and writers whose names I have quoted in this work. I have endeavoured to accept only what I believe to be positive truths, and I have rejected or condemned what appeared to me improbable and unsound.

In recording facts and forming opinions respecting Protestants and Roman Catholics, I have endeavoured to write impartially; and while I respect the devotions of *the people* of all creeds in their worship, I have been unable to pass over intolerance and persecution, under whatever form; and I have found myself under the necessity of censuring with impartial severity the persecutions, injustice, and cruelties of the Papal Hierarchy, the Church of England, the Presbyterians, and other sectarians.

1, Prince's Terrace, Hyde Park,
London, Jan. 10, 1852.

wrote the most flagrant falsehoods about Cromwell and England (Vita di Cromwello, London, 1682), yet I find some of his absurdities quoted as facts by several authors; and his work constitutes the whole groundwork of the "Vie d'Olivier Cromwell par l'Abbé Raguenet." Heath's Flagellum was a favourite work with the enemies of the Commonwealth.

THE

HISTORY

OF

THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

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ERRATA.

Page 21, for *Statesman*, read *Statesmen*.—34, for *Marten*, read *Martin*.—123, second line from bottom, for *Henry*, read *Hugh*.—180, sixth line from bottom, for *Government Commonwealth*, read *Commonwealth Government*.—192, note, dele *Haslie*.—201, note, bottom line, for *Spicilelegium*, read *Spicilegium*.—202, note, for *Wendovera*, read *Wendover*.—204, note, for *Aatoritate*, read *Autoritate*.—209, line five, for *Magdeberg*, read *Magdeburg*.—209, note, for *ed el re d'Inspetterra*, read *ed il re d'Inghilterra*.—210, note, for *dove*, read *dava*, and for *Nicolelli*, read *Nicoletti*.—216, note, for *Baggni*, read *Bagni*.—217, note, for *Atheilulung*, read *Abtheilung*.—246, for *Bastile*, read *Bastille*.—260, for *faccamus cos in gentum unam*, read *faciamus eos in gentem unam*.

HISTORY

OF

THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

THE COMMONWEALTH.

CHAPTER I.

THE COMMONWEALTH GOVERNMENT — FAIRFAX'S AGREEMENT OF THE PEOPLE—THE COUNCIL OF STATE—THE PARLIAMENT—THE ARMY.

ENGLAND was, soon after the death of Charles, declared a Commonwealth: not by the people, represented by 500 members, but by a faction of about seventy persons, miscalled a parliament. The House of Lords was abolished; episcopacy, and the service according to the ritual of the Church of England, were declared inconsistent with spiritual freedom and true religion. Before this new form of government was instituted, the Presbyterians and a majority of the other liberals in the kingdom, as well as the Royalists, advocated not a republic, but a limited monarchy. They proposed that one of the late king's younger sons should be

crowned, to the exclusion of the eldest: first, on the ground that the latter had taken up arms against the people; and second, to exhibit to the world that the choice of a king depended upon the pleasure of the nation:* the main object being to preserve the executive authority in a hereditary form, in order to guard against the dangerous ambition of elective candidates for power. It was contended that the English had at all times been so thoroughly associated with monarchy, that no other form of government could be established or maintained in harmony with their traditions, sentiments, and affections; and that overturning existing institutions would lead to the subversion of the fundamental laws of the realm, and finally destroy the constitutional rights of the people.† But these proposals and reasons were rejected: not by the resistance of the fragment of a parliament which now constituted the House of Commons, but through the agency of an authority which had become absolute.

This authority was the army, and its interpreters argued—that the calamities which afflicted the country during the late reign, and throughout the civil war, were the fruits altogether of the monarchical system, which they represented as so absolutely vicious in principle and spirit, that, under its rule, no true liberty could exist or flourish; that the example of the Dutch republic proved a commonwealth to be not only a practicable, but an efficient form of government, compatible with the most ample civil and political liberty and with true religious freedom; that under a commonwealth the administration of the

* Whitlocke, Dec. 23. † Clarendon.

laws could be equally and impartially executed, the public tranquillity maintained, individual safety guarded, and the protection of property secured. It was also asserted that, if a republican form of government was not instituted when so favourable an opportunity was open for the people to prove themselves the origin of all just power, it was hopeless to expect that another fair occasion would occur, without the calamities of a second and more disastrous civil war. These arguments were on principle sufficiently just and reasonable, but they only expressed the sentiments of the army and of a small minority of the people. Under these circumstances, it was hopeless to expect that in England a commonwealth or republic could be a lasting and practical government.

A document was, however, prepared, entirely democratic in its principles, and called "The Agreement of the People," upon which the form of the Commonwealth was to be settled. This agreement was presented by Fairfax to the parliament on the 20th of January. It provided that the present parliament should dissolve itself on the 30th of April, and that a new parliament should meet early in June. This new legislature was to consist of 400 members, according to a new plan of distribution, which was detailed in the agreement. The qualifications for electors were, that they should be born or naturalised in the country, and be householders, not receiving alms, nor acting as servants to any person. An election for a new parliament was to take place every second year, to meet without delay, and within twenty days to elect a council of

state, the power of which should continue until a new council were appointed by the next parliament. This parliament, elected every two years, was to sit only for one session—and for six months, from June to December—which session should then expire and the parliament be dissolved, without reassembling, and without any representative power, by which the whole authority of government for eighteen months remained vested in the council of state. But the latter might, for extraordinary purposes, summon a parliament in the same manner and for the same purpose as the biennial parliaments, provided for in the agreement. The powers of parliament were to embrace the instituting or abolishing the tribunals of justice, amending or repealing laws, instituting or abolishing public offices, and to possess the supreme authority and final judgment over natural and civil government and jurisdiction, but not over spiritual and evangelical affairs and worship. It was provided that the Christian religion should be recommended as the creed of the nation, and that the public ministers of religion should be maintained out of the revenues of the state. But all persons were to be protected in the conscientious exercise of their particular religious tenets. This agreement was submitted to parliament for consideration and approval, —not to be then accepted as the law of the Commonwealth, but to be tendered in all parts of the three kingdoms for the voluntary subscription of the people. This agreement was certainly—if legalised by parliament and consented to by the people—an instrument which would render any government absolute; first, by instituting a high court of justice;

and in the next place, by granting to the council of state the whole power of the government for eighteen months out of every two years, and without any responsibility for that time either to the parliament or the people.*

A new great seal was executed and put into commission, and, instead of the oath of allegiance and supremacy, another was substituted, of fidelity to the people and to parliament. The commissioners, instead of holding office during pleasure, were to exercise authority by the tenure "*Quamdiu se bene gesserint.*" The commons voted that the office of king was found by experience to be pernicious and unnecessary,—dangerous to the liberty of the people, —burdensome to the nation,—and ought therefore to be abolished. They altered the name of their house from the commons to that of the Commonwealth of England. They also voted that the House of Lords was both dangerous and useless, and ought to be abolished; and a proposal of the peers to take a share in the new government was rejected. The name of the Court of King's Bench was changed into Court of Upper Bench; and a committee of five persons were named to select forty individuals to constitute a council of state for administering the executive government.† This committee gave in the names only of thirty-five, of whom were the Earls of Denbigh, Mulgrave, and Pembroke, Lord Grey of Werke, the two sons of

* See abridgment in Rushworth, and the whole agreement printed by order of the council of war.

† Journals of the Commons, January and February Whitelock, December, January, and February; Scobell's Collection of the Acts of Parliament for the years 1649, 1650, and 1651, printed in 1763.

Lord Grey of Groby, and Lord Lisle. John Lisle, Ludlow, Scott, and the Earl of Salisbury were added. Ireton and Harrison were proposed on the following day, but were rejected. With the exception of St. John and Henry Rolle, chief justices, and Bradshaw, the council consisted entirely of members of parliament.* Of the twelve judges, six retired, and the other six retained their seats on receiving a declaration from the Commonwealth that the fundamental laws of England should not be invaded.†

The history of the world has nowhere afforded a more absolute example of the usurpation of power than the establishment of the Commonwealth in England on the 17th of February, 1649. For 600 years the kingdom was governed by a monarchy, which exercised a power nearly absolute; and even before the Norman conquest the Saxons considered the kingly government as an essential principle of their institutions and laws. But although the republican form of government was instituted, the

* The council of state, which was installed February 17, 1649, consisted of Philip, Earl of Pembroke; William, Earl of Salisbury; Basil, Earl of Denbigh; Edmund, Earl of Mulgrave; William, Lord Grey of Werke; Philip, Viscount Lisle; Thomas, Lord Grey of Groby; Bulstrode Whitelock, and John Lisle, keepers of the great seal; Henry Rolle, chief justice; Oliver St. John, chief justice; John Wild, chief baron; Thomas, Lord Fairfax; Lieutenant-General Oliver Cromwell; Major-General Philip Skippon; Sir Arthur Haselrig, bart.; Sir Gilbert Pickering, bart.; Sir William Masham, bart.; Sir William Armine, bart.; Sir William Constable, bart.; Sir Henry Mildmay, knt.; Sir Henry Vane, knt.; Sir John Danvers, knt.; Sir James Harrington, knt.; Henry Martin, John Bradshaw, Valentine Wauton, William Purefoy, Robert Wallop, John Hutchinson, Anthony Stapeley, William Heveningham, Dennis Bond, Alexander Popham, John Jones, Alderman Rowland Wilson, Alderman Isaac Pennington, Edmund Ludlow, Thomas Scott, Cornelius Holland, Luke Robinson.

† Journal of the Commons; Parliamentary History, vol. ii., p. 1288, vol. iii., p. 1281; Ludlow, vol. i., pp. 246-247; Whitelock, pp. 371-474.

sentiment of royalty and the prestige of aristocracy were still cherished by a great majority of the nation; and it was evident that the general and profound regard for the traditions and associations of ages was not to be extinguished. If the parliamentary faction declared that a king was unnecessary, and the House of Lords useless, this utilitarian and material principle was insufficient to eradicate the ideal and immaterial sentiment.

The peerage, when its judicial and legislative functions were abolished, consisted of two dukes, two marquises, fifty-six earls, seven vicounts, and fifty-seven barons, possessing the most extensive landed estates in England. A few of the peers joined the Commonwealth; but the great body were awed into silence, and retired to the country to nurse their discontents and animosities against the regicides and Puritans, until a favourable period should arrive for reaction.

The bench of twenty-six bishops, the archdeacons, deans, chapters, prebendaries, canons, and the inferior clergy of the English hierarchy, were all deprived of their places and emoluments; and they, like the aristocracy, were at heart, as well as by individual and class interests, sincere Royalists. All the Episcopalians, therefore, although silent, were opposed to the Commonwealth.

The Presbyterians had treated with the late king at Newark and the Isle of Wight;—they were more numerous than the Episcopalians in all parts of England, and they outnumbered both the Independents and all other non-conformists. They were thoroughly defeated, however, as a political party;

and although they claimed a spiritual independence, and would have established an absolute Church government, not in union with the state, but independent of all royal supremacy, they nevertheless voted in the commons that the concessions of the king before his trial were sufficient for restoring the tranquillity of England; but for which vote they on the following morning were some of them arrested and the remainder expelled from parliament.*

The council of forty, which now constituted the executive government, undertook the administration with a perfect knowledge that the Commonwealth was obnoxious to the great majority of the people, and their strength rested altogether upon a full confidence on their own superiority as men over their opponents; and a firm reliance upon that disciplined force which nominally was commanded by Lord Fairfax, but which, in reality, was under the absolute control of Oliver Cromwell.†

In order to account for the power which was acquired and maintained by the Independents in defiance of the aristocracy, the Episcopalians, the Presbyterians, and the Roman Catholics,—all of whom formed probably three-fourths of the inhabitants of England,—it is necessary to form a true estimate of the character and strength of the army. This force was modelled, as we have observed in the previous volume, by Oliver Cromwell on a system different from that of any army that ever existed, either before or since that period.‡ Unlike the

* Journals; Whitlocke.

† Whitlocke, p. 72; Baxter's Life, p. 95; Sir Philip Warwick, p. 252.

‡ Cromwell's own "brave regiment of horse," which he first modelled, "were most of them freeholders and freeholders' sons, who, upon

present standing army of Great Britain, they did not consist of men who prefer the life of a soldier to that of a farmer, labourer, or artisan. They were men animated by a fanatical zeal for morality and religion, and by an ardent enthusiasm for civil and political liberty. To fight for liberty and for religious freedom, they for a time abandoned the occupations of industry and profit; each man was impressed with a pious sentiment of an accountability to God for his thoughts and acts. He believed that his dogmas were essential for his salvation; he reasoned on facts; he reflected on events, and expressed his thoughts in a spirit of bold independence. Although he was readily moulded into the discipline and obedience of the soldier, yet he never became servile,—never compromised the dignity of the man. These "Soldiers of the Lord," for such they conscientiously believed themselves, obeyed with fidelity and with order in England; and it was only when the attempt was made to send them to Ireland against their principles and their inclinations, and when it was sought to disband them in various parts of the kingdom, that they resisted the authority of parliament, and assumed a conspicuous and formidable position. Before Colonel Pride expelled from the commons the Royalists and Presbyterians, the army had resolved to stand by the Independents, and the soldiers declared that, as they were godly and well affected, they fought

matter of conscience, engaged in this quarrel; and thus, being well armed within by the satisfaction of their own consciences, and without by good iron arms, they would as one man stand firmly and fight desperately!"—Whitlocke. "These men," says Sir P. Warwick, "at first chose rather to dye than flye, and custom removed the fear of danger."

only for liberty and religion, and were not to be considered as mercenary troops, subject to the mere will or designs of their paymasters. When they embodied their grievances in a petition to Fairfax, they insisted upon an indemnity for all acts which they might have illegally committed during the war, —for their pay, which had now been in arrear for more than twelve months,—as well as for various other immunities and allowances.*

The commons, in which the Presbyterians and Loyalists predominated, unhappily voted that the objects of the petition were mutiny, to reduce parliament to subserviency, and to throw obstructions in the way of suppressing the rebellion in Ireland. They further voted that the promoters of the petition should be prosecuted as breakers of the public peace and dangerous enemies of the state. This fatal declaration excited the soldiers to mutiny. They complained that the faction in parliament deprived them of the rights of all Englishmen to present their grievances, and that they who had fought for the liberties of the country were reduced to intolerable servitude.

When the commissioners of the parliament proposed that a portion of the army should pass over into Ireland, under the command of Skippon and Massey, they were answered by clamours for arrears of pay, and for the redress of real or imaginary grievances. The soldiers insisted on their right to petition, and no less than two hundred officers signed a remonstrance to parliament against the im-

* Rushworth, p. 565; Whitlocke's Journals; Bates; Elenchus Motuum, Part II.

putations cast upon the soldiers by the commons. Both privates and officers were conscious of their power, which from this time forth they resolved to exercise. Nor must it be overlooked, that most of the private soldiers were men well qualified either to command or to deliberate in council.* They elected two men out of every company to investigate and represent the grievances of the army. Those councillors elected from among themselves two or more representatives for each regiment, which, again, constituted the council of deliberation, called the "*adjudicators*" or "*agitators*," their functions being to aid the council of war, and to agitate matters which involved the interests of the army.

Oliver Cromwell was, in disguise, the chief cause of the resistance of the army to the commons, and his confidential agents, from the time that he first raised a troop of horse at his own expense and became a soldier, were Desborough, Berry, Ayres, and Evanson. Desborough had some years before married one of Cromwell's sisters, and was a major in Fairfax's regiment of horse, when Oliver began to remodel the parliamentary army.

Cromwell no doubt, from the first, entertained ambitious views, and his sagacity enabled him at once to judge that his fortunes depended on the moral and physical character of the army; and to him, and in a certain extent to Desborough, Berry, and some

* Sir Philip Warwick, a Royalist, says: "These men, the soldiers, were habited more to spiritual pride than to riot and intemperance, so, consequently having been industrious and active in their former callings and professions, where natural courage wanted, zeal supplied its place." He also says that many of the best soldiers had once served in the king's garrison. See note on Cromwell's army, Appendix to this volume.

others in whom he reposed the utmost confidence, was due the high discipline and fearless bravery which enabled him to subdue the whole power of the Royalists and Presbyterians, and all others who did not fall in with his own views and those of the Independents. The imprudence of the Presbyterians in parliament disgusted those who represented the interests of the army. The council of agitators acted as the soul of the military force by whom they were surrounded, and whose power they well understood how to employ. In letters which they had addressed to Fairfax, Cromwell, and Skippon, complaining of the parliament, they declared that they knew how to use the sword against their oppressor in the open field; but they were at a loss how to act towards "those dangerous men in the commons who had lately tasted of sovereignty,—who were exalted above their proper rank of public servants,—and who, as masters, were degenerating into tyrants." Those letters were laid before the commons, first by Skippon and then by Cromwell. It was proposed that the messengers who brought them should be committed to the Tower;—but Cromwell rose, and protested that to his knowledge the army was falsely caluminated,—that their grievances, spirit, and temper were not understood,—that they would conform to the orders of parliament,—and that, if the commons pleased, the army would disband, and without delay, if requested, pile up their arms at the door of the house. He entreated the commons to believe that he held himself in humble submission and entire obedience to parliament, and he implored them not to forget the long services,—

the faithful, loyal, and pure character of the soldiers, —and that it would be unjust to proceed in anger, and under false representations, against the army, which had endured great sufferings, and now looked to parliament with hope and with confidence.*

Such is the substance of a speech which was a masterpiece of dissimulation, but which had so full an effect upon the house, that the messengers were not molested; and Cromwell, Skippon, Ireton, and Fleetwood, were sent to head-quarters with injunctions to pacify the "distempers of the soldiery." They were instructed to intimate to the army that a great proportion of the arrears would be paid on the breaking up of the forces, and the remainder as soon as the necessities of the treasury would allow. This was the first concession made by the Presbyterians in parliament to the army, and which the latter obtained by its firmness and resistance to the arbitrary attempts of their adversaries.†

On the 7th of May, 1647, Cromwell, having contrived his plans with extraordinary secrecy and dexterity, proceeded, along with three other generals, to the convention of officers representing the army at Saffron Walden. But on communicating the object of his mission, they replied that they misunderstood what the parliament meant by "distempers;" but if the message related to their grievances, they could scarcely venture to reply to the parliamentary proposals until they consulted the feeling of the soldiers, and they therefore requested

* Whitlocke; Waller's Vindication, p. 42 to 85.
† Journals, March; Baxter, p. 59; Warwick, p. 298; Walker, p. 31.

permission to communicate to their respective regiments, companies, and troops, the instructions given by the parliament to their generals. This request was consented to, and the convention of officers assembled eight days afterwards to meet Cromwell with the other generals, and several members of parliament. But on its being mentioned by some officers favourable to the Presbyterians that some of their followers were willing to serve in Ireland, Lambert immediately interrupted the proceedings, by reminding them that the first business they came to transact, was to present a detail of the grievances of the army as communicated by the meeting of agitators. After a violent discussion the proposition of Lambert was adopted.*

Cromwell soon after proceeded to London, and reported what had occurred to the commons. It was then resolved that the claims of the soldiers should be immediately adjusted, and *real security* given for payment of the arrears; and an ordinance indemnifying the soldiers for whatever they had done during the war, was passed on the same day by both houses. Places were soon after selected in different counties for disbanding the army. Robert Lilburne, one of their colonels, who had been imprisoned, was set at liberty, and it was resolved on bringing up a report on the affairs of Ireland, delivered by Hollis, that those troops only who would engage to serve in that country should remain under arms.

The head-quarters of the army were ordered to

* Whitlocke; Journals; Report by Cromwell.

be removed at once from Saffron Walden to Bury St. Edmund's, where a few days afterwards a general council of war was held by about two hundred officers. The council of agitators had drawn up a petition, which they had signed, declaring their dissent from the vote for suddenly disbanding the army, before their grievances had been redressed, vindicating the soldiery from the charges which had been cast on their conduct, and demanding that those persons who had been the intenders and contrivers of their destruction should be brought to account. But they especially complained of the unprecedented order for disbanding the regiments in places apart from each other, as exposing them to suspicion and dishonour in so many parts of the kingdom. They therefore implored their general to name a place of rendezvous for the whole army to assemble, and to use his efforts to prevent their being disbanded until their grievances were completely redressed.*

The arrears due to the troops amounted to fifty-six weeks' pay, and they were only offered pay for eight weeks, before disbanding. The whole of the council of war, with the exception of five or six subalterns, urged the commander-in-chief to acquiesce with the prayer of their petition; and a paper to that effect was drawn up by Ireton, Robert Lilburne, Colonel Harrison, Rich, and Oakey.

It was at this juncture that Cromwell had secretly ordered Joyce, a cornet in his own regiment, to pro-

* This plan of disbanding soldiers who highly esteemed their moral character, created the utmost disgust in the army against the parliament. Even Clarendon, after the Restoration, praises the army.

ceed in the first place to secure the artillery and ammunition laid up at Oxford, in order to provide against any attempt of parliament to disband the army. Being accused on some charge in the commons on the 2nd of June, and having defended himself unsuccessfully, his adversaries consulted together, and resolved to vote that he should be arrested next morning as he came down to the house, which he seldom failed to do, and to confine him in the Tower. But Cromwell disappointed his enemies. Whether informed or not of their design, he rode out of town, attended by one servant, next morning before sunrise, and was soon within the stronghold of the exasperated army.

In the mean time, he had secretly given orders to Joyce to proceed with a strong body of horse from Oxford to Holdenby, in order to remove the king from the custody of the parliament to that of the army. From this moment Cromwell threw off his disguise with regard to the commons, and he even paid a visit of courtesy to the king, attended by Fairfax, Ireton, and several other of the principal officers. The army then marched to London. The parliament was cleared of the Presbyterians and Royalists, and those events followed with rapidity which ended in the execution of the king.

Such was the army by which Cromwell and the Independents overcame and reduced their opponents to awe and submission, and established first a republic, and then a sovereignty, more absolute and stern than any royal government which could be endured in England.

Although Cromwell possessed an extraordinary

influence over the hearts of men, and although he was greatly assisted in his projects by Vane, Bradshaw, Ireton, and Martin, and exercised a thorough control over the affections of the army, yet vigorous attempts were made to undermine him in his military authority. To continue the administration with a house of commons attended by no more than eighty members, was considered discreditable to the Commonwealth. But the Independents were still unwilling to admit the Presbyterians, and they had passed an act on the 1st of February excluding all members who had on the 1st of December voted in favour of the treaty of Newport. Instructions were then voted to the council of state, and on the same day an engagement was adopted for each councillor to sign. It expressed an approbation of the king's trial, the abolition of royalty and the house of lords, and it confirmed a vote of the 14th July, 1648, which declared the Scottish invaders and all the English who adhered to them enemies, rebels, and traitors. This engagement was signed on the 17th of February, 1649, by thirteen out of fourteen members who were present, the principal of whom were Cromwell, Lord Grey of Groby, Scott, Ludlow, Martin, Robinson, and Wauton. On the following Monday, thirty-four members were present and signed the engagement with the exception of Salisbury, Pembroke, Denbigh, Lord Grey of Werke, Viscount Lisle, Whitelock, Skippon, and Haselrig, who refused to do so on account of its retrospective stipulations; and it would appear that, for those who declined to sign this manifesto, a simple declaration was framed,

"to be true and faithful to the Commonwealth of England as now established, without the king or his peers."*

Sir Harry Vane, whose administrative abilities were surpassed by no man then living, and whose integrity was never suspected, nor his views considered ambitious, retired from parliament when its numbers were violently reduced on the 6th of December. He was dissatisfied with the conduct of Cromwell on that occasion, as well as with the king's trial. But he was prevailed upon by Cromwell to take his seat in the council on the 26th of February.†

This remarkable person—the ancestor of the present Duke of Cleveland—was the son of Sir Harry Vane, secretary of state to Charles I. He was born in the year 1615, and after receiving a liberal education he travelled over France, and resided for some time at Geneva, where he acquired a sturdy, unbending, and enduring aversion to the government and liturgy of the English Hierarchy. On his return he fell under the severe displeasure of his father on account of his principles, and in 1635 he sailed to New England, where he was elected governor by the colonists, and remained among them for two years.‡ He maintained more than usual

* Whitelock, 1649, January and February 1 to 20. Order Book of Council, in State Paper Office. Many *erasures* were made in the journals and records after the Restoration, but they can all be deciphered.

† Order Book, 26th February.

‡ Governor Hutchinson, in his "History of Massachusetts Bay," vol. i., p. 53 to 67, relates several curious details of the character and administration of Mr. Vane in New England. But Hutchinson, differing altogether from Vane in religious and political principles, writes not as an impartial historian, but as an opponent. Vane, it is true,

state as governor; and he at the same time was a zealot in theology. Not being re-elected governor, although he had powerful adherents, he returned to England, and was appointed joint-treasurer of the navy, and returned as a member of parliament. He became sole treasurer soon after; and he was entitled to a poundage, which, during peace, amounted on an average to three thousand pounds a year; and in war, to twenty thousand pounds. He not only paid the whole of this money, but he paid also, during the civil war, half of his salary into the treasury for the public service. His office was for life, and its salary and emoluments great; yet he petitioned to retire, and he received as a compensation lands estimated at less than twelve hundred pounds a year. There never lived a more pure statesman. In 1642 he was sent as a commissioner to invite the Scotch to the aid of the parliament, and he was one of the most ardent promoters of the "Solemn League and Covenant." He was also one of the commissioners who concluded a treaty with the king at Uxbridge, in 1645, and the treaty of Newport, in 1648. But notwithstanding his religious zeal as a Puritan, or rather as "a seeker of the Lord," and his stubborn republican principles, he disapproved of the execution of

supported that religious party of which Mr. Cotton and Mrs. Hutchinson were the leading spirits, and who held those mysterious doctrines which produced much fanatical agitation, mischief, and persecution in New England—viz., that "the Holy Ghost dwells personally in a justified person, and that nothing of sanctification can help to evidence to believers their justification." It is true that this eminent, humane, and honest personage, whenever he wrote or spoke on theological questions, advanced the most obscure and irrational opinions.

Charles I. His abilities, energy, and capacity for business, however, were so great, that Cromwell considered his assistance in the government indispensable; and after much argument and entreaty, he consented to enter the council of state.

The chief justice, Oliver St. John, also, at the solicitation of Cromwell, became an efficient member of the council. He does not appear to have taken any part in the trial of the late king, although Whitlocke designates him "one of Cromwell's creatures." He was undoubtedly a profound lawyer and a diligent councillor.

Lord Warwick, being a zealous and frank Presbyterian, was deprived of his office of lord admiral, and Sir Harry Vane, Wauton, and Alderman Wilson, were empowered as commissioners to administer the admiralty and navy. Robert Blake, Richard Deane, and Edward Popham, were appointed admirals of the fleet. Bradshaw, who had presided in the Court of Commission which passed sentence on Charles I., was appointed president of the council; and Milton, the friend of Sir Harry Vane, and the relative of Bradshaw, was made secretary, for foreign tongues, to the council. Cromwell, with these able and resolute men, aided by the other members of the council, resolved that they should not write to foreign states in any other but the English language; nor receive from any foreign state any communication excepting in the language of the people whence such communication arrived, or in the language of the people of England. They came to this resolution in order that all such despatches should

form historical records to be understood by all the people; for those in foreign languages were to be translated.

Godwin truly remarks, that "the language of Milton's state papers is full of energy and wisdom, and must have impressed foreign states with a high opinion of the government from which they came. The character of the great poet of England frequently discovers itself in these productions, without in the smallest degree detracting from the graveness of the occasions and the rank of the nation in whose name they were written, demanded. He felt as deeply as any man that his proper destination was the quiet and sequestered paths of literature; but from a sense of duty he conceived that he could not decline a public situation, when the demand was made upon him by such men, and on behalf of that form of a republic which, above all earthly things, he loved."

The power of the statesman of the Commonwealth of England, consisted, first, of the transcendent and intellectual character and abilities of those personages; and, second, in the support and enthusiasm of a matchless army. The constitution of England was subverted,—the tribunals of justice were deprived of their juries,—the hierarchy was extinguished,—the House of Lords abolished,—the House of Commons reduced to a fragment of Independents,—and the government of three kingdoms vested in a council of state, and an illegal parliament, which had been originally summoned by a despotic king, but from which all obnoxious members were expelled by armed

violence. Therefore the acts of the remainder were not those of a representative assembly, and the authority both of this council and this parliament were contrary to the fundamental laws of England. Yet did this dangerous Commonwealth, erected on principles which could not long endure, rule with great, though not perfect, nor always merciful wisdom. This usurped and absolute government not only reduced Great Britain, Ireland, and the plantations to a full and submissive obedience to its authority, but the vigour of its foreign policy rendered England more respected by all Europe, than at any former period of British history.

CHAPTER II.

PROSECUTIONS OF THE ROYALISTS — MUTINY IN THE ARMY — TRIAL AND ACQUITTAL OF LILBURNE — COURT OF HIGH JUSTICE — EXECUTIONS — CONTROVERSIAL AND POLITICAL WRITINGS — SALMASIUS — MILTON.

THE triumph of the Commonwealth over the last attempt to restore kingly power was followed by the trial of several Royalists.

It would have been pleasant to record that no severities were inflicted by the policy of the council of state and parliament on political adversaries. Unhappily, this magnanimous and safe forbearance was not adopted; and it was resolved that all who had revived the civil war should be deemed traitors, and suffer death, for having risen in arms to shed innocent blood, and to subvert the Commonwealth.

The Duke of Hamilton, who had headed the invasion from Scotland which had revived the civil war,* and Lords Holland, Goring, Capel, and Sir John Owen, were tried, not by their peers, or a

* The Scots who were taken prisoners after the discomfiture of Hamilton were apportioned to various Independents, and sent to the colonies; that is to say, they were sold to work as slaves on the plantations.—Burnet's Memoirs of Hamilton.

jury, but by a special high court of justice of sixty persons or judges, of whom Bradshaw was president. Many others who were prisoners escaped. The first, who demurred to the illegality of being tried by an English court, was indicted as Earl of Cambridge, he having had a seat under that title in the English House of Peers. Capel was not summarily executed like the other two noblemen, who held out so gallantly at Colchester, and claimed exemption under a special article which extended quarter to officers. But Fairfax declared that the article only exempted him from military execution and not from a judicial trial. Hamilton and Capel were both executed.* Norwich was pardoned by the parliament, but Holland, whose case was also referred to the same authority, was executed. These proceedings were unconstitutional; for if tried by their peers, or even at the assizes, it is probable that they would have all been acquitted. But a government supported only by a small minority of the whole people can probably never maintain its power unless by military force and by arbitrary measures.

Sir John Stowell, Bishop Wren, and Judge Jenkins were sent to prison, where the two first remained until the Restoration; and the last until 1656. Others were tried by court-martial for being engaged in the Welsh insurrection; one of whom, Poyer, was executed. Sentence of banishment and confiscation of property were passed on the two eldest sons of Charles I.; the third was in prison;

* Journals, Feb. 1-3; Whitelocke, Feb. 2-10; Burnet; Loyd; Memoirs of Loyalists.

and on the Duke of Buckingham, the Marquis of Worcester, Lords Newcastle, Bristol, and Digby; on Sirs John Byron, John Culpepper, Marmaduke Langdale, Richard Grenville, William Waddington, Francis Doddington, Philip Musgrave, and John Winter.*

On the 15th of March, Cromwell was nominated commander to the forces to be employed in Ireland, and the 20th of the same month was fixed on to cast lots for the regiments to serve in that country. Four regiments of horse and four of foot were accordingly draughted for Ireland, and the former included those of Ireton and Lambert.

But early in May a mutinous disposition was displayed by a portion of the troops who acquired the name of "*Levellers.*" They complained of this name; and declared, probably with truth, that they had no design whatever to level or destroy property. What this party did propose, was the abolition of the council of state, and of all high courts of justice. They also demanded a new parliament, and complained of the delay which the instrument called "*Fairfax's Agreement with the People*" was calculated to produce before a free parliament would be elected. Besides, they contended for a restoration of the council of "*Agitators,*" to consist of two officers and two private soldiers elected by each regiment. It was evident that such council would in practice dictate to parliament, to the nation, and even to Cromwell, Vane, Bradshaw, Ireton, and the other prominent members of the council of state.

* Journals, March 8 *et seq.*; Whitelock; Clarendon; Loyd; Memoirs of Loyalists.

The council of state, therefore, resolved that this mutinous spirit must be suppressed.*

The malcontents were greatly under the influence of the notorious John Lilburne. They bore a religious hatred to the Presbyterians, Episcopalians, and Royalists; and when one of their number was shot at St. Paul's Churchyard for mutiny, his funeral was attended by at least a thousand malcontents, who interred his body with high military honours.† By their plan of proceeding for electing a council of agitators, they instituted a correspondence between several regiments, until they included five thousand soldiers in the ramifications of their circle of communication. Before they suddenly broke forth into an open revolt at Banbury, they published a manifesto, entitled "England's Standard Defended," in which they declared that, "through an unavoidable necessity, no other means being left under heaven, they are enforced to betake themselves to the law of nature to defend and preserve themselves and their native rights; and therefore are resolved, as one man, to attempt to redeem the magistracy of England from the power of the sword,"—meaning the generals of the army; and they further declared with regard to Lilburne,‡ Prince, Overton,

* Rushworth; Journals; England's New Chains; England's Standard Advanced; Hunting of the Foxes, p. 10.

† Whitelock, April 26-30; Walker, p. 11, sec. 151.

‡ Lilburne, who had served under Essex, was taken prisoner by the Royalists, in 1642, at Brentford. He was tried at Oxford for being found in arms against the king, and he defended himself with great skill and argument; yet it seemed probable he would have suffered death had not the parliament interfered by threatening retaliation. Three years after, he engaged in a controversy with Prynne and the Presbyterians, and his consequent difficulties caused or tempted him to write against the parliament. In the following year he was fined 4000*l.*, and sentenced to be confined seven years in the

Walwyn,* and some other prisoners, that "if a hair of their heads shall perish, they will—God enabling them—revenge themselves seventy times sevenfold upon the tyrants."†

One Captain Thomson, who first published this manifesto, headed two hundred malcontents belonging to the cavalry, and rode over Oxford and Warwickshires, in order to increase his force, and for the purpose of joining the main body of the insurgents quartered at Salisbury. But being met at Banbury by Colonel Reynolds, Thomson's troops were disarmed and disbanded, and the ringleaders fled.‡ At Salisbury, five-sixths of the different regiments had waited only for Lilburne to join them; but he, Prince, Overton, and Walwyn, were closely imprisoned in the Tower.

The troops at Salisbury cast off the authority of their officers and elected others in their stead, under whose command two thousand of their number

Tower. He then petitioned the commons, and wrote to Cromwell and other members, and then cast himself "upon those honest blades, private soldiers." His first release from the Tower had been granted a few weeks before his second commitment. He was the most unlucky and the most reckless of all agitators; and, if we admit that he was honest in his principles, he was a furious disturber of public order. Walwyn and Overton, who were committed with Lilburne in 1649, were among the freethinkers of the times of the Commonwealth.—State Trials, iv., pp. 1269-1470; Whitelock, p. 391, G.; Journals, April 11, May 12, July 18, Sept. 11, Oct. 30.

* Walwyn and Overton were professed *materialists*. Overton's tract, "Man's Mortality (*Quatenus Animal Rationale*), proving Man a Compound wholly Mortal," is full of Scriptural phrases, which he combines with his own logic to show that all human beings, except those believing in Christ, are mortal. But he only slightly touches on the exception to his general rule of materialism. "Walwyn's Wiles" is the work of an infidel. Notwithstanding the puritanical character of the army, it would appear that there were some infidels among the officers. Among the Royalists it was too common to scoff at all piety.

† Clement Walker, who inserts the whole document.

‡ Whitelock, May 8-12.

marched to Wantage, and thence to Newbridge, in order to join the malcontents of the regiments of Harrison, Ingoldsby, and Ireton, who were quartered at Oxford, Warwick, and Gloucester; and they were even traitorously joined by Major White, a messenger whom Fairfax sent to remonstrate against their proceedings.* After an accession of two troops from Harrison's regiment the insurgents marched to Burford, where Cromwell arrived at midnight on the 14th of May, and while he entered at one end of the town, Colonel Reynolds guarded the other to prevent those who attempted from escaping. About 340, with all the horses, were captured by Cromwell, while the remainder contrived to escape during the night. Three only of the insurgents were shot: the other prisoners were pardoned and sent for some time to Devizes, and they were afterwards allowed to re-enter their regiments.

In a few days Fairfax and Cromwell brought the whole army to obedience by arguments and by mercy; and, in some instances, by threats of punishment. Captain Thomson alone made a desperate effort; and, scorning to be taken alive, he was shot by a corporal, who loaded his carbine with seven bullets.†

The "*Levellers*" were soon persuaded by the leaders of the council of state and others, that if they had succeeded in forcing the election of a new parliament, the majority would consist of Presbyterians and Royalists; that the immediate restoration

* Narrative of the Mutiny; Journals.

† Declaration of Fairfax; Declaration of Proceedings; White's True Relation of Proceedings at Burford; Whitelock, May 19-21.

of Charles II. would inevitably follow; that a Church government similar to that of Scotland would be established, under which the Independents and Puritans would be exposed to intolerance and persecution; or, if the Episcopalians and high Royalists gained the ascendency, a royal despotism and episcopal hierarchy, instead of a free government and religious freedom, would be established.

Besides the sect of "*Levellers*," who were headed by Colonel Lilburne, there were also a sect of "*Diggers*," who contended that "God gave all things in common," and that "every man has an equal right to the fruits of the earth." Their name they derived from commencing the operations of digging the earth in common, and planting in it roots and seeds. But they were soon dispersed by Fairfax, and several of their number were imprisoned.

Such were the energetic measures adopted and executed by Fairfax, Cromwell, and the council of state, for securing the authority of the Commonwealth and the obedience of the army.

Among the several prosecutions for seditious writings during the reign of Charles I., we have alluded to the punishment of whipping and the pillory inflicted on John Lilburne.

This enthusiast was born at Durham in 1618, and, after leaving school, for some time followed the occupation of a clothier's clerk in London. Becoming animated with the religious zeal of the Puritans, he wrote controversial pamphlets, and imported the Litany and other works of Dr. Bastwick from Holland, for which he was arrested and com-

mitted to the Fleet.* When brought before the Star Chamber he refused to pay the fees for entering his appearance, and declined taking an oath that "he should true answer make to all things that were demanded of him." He was whipped from the Fleet to the pillory in New Palace Yard. While he stood in the pillory for two hours, he continued to address the populace; applauded the writings of Burton, Prynne, and Bastwick;—reviled the bishops, whom he said "received their power not from God, as they pretended, but from the devil;" declared that "the difference between Popery and the Church of England was insignificant;" and exhorted the people "to fight manfully the spiritual battles of the Lord like valiant soldiers." He rejoiced in standing in the pillory, which was erected in front of the Star Chamber; and continuing his harangue, he declared that he "would speak his mind if he were hanged at the gate of Westminster Hall." He was thereupon gagged, and after being kept for some time further in the pillory, was taken down and carried to the Fleet, loaded with irons, where he was confined in the side set apart for criminals.†

* I have never seen the works of Dr. Bastwick, with the exception of a small duodecimo volume which I possess, published in London in 1641, in Latin, and entitled, "Flagellum Pontificis et Episcoporum Latialum." It is unscrupulous in the severity of its attacks, and it is probable that his other works, translated into English and distributed by Lilburne, were of at least an equally scurrilous character. So, however, were most of the theological and political works of that period, whether published in England or in Holland.

† In his own account, he says his friends were not allowed to see him, and that he would have starved if he had not been relieved by his fellow-prisoners. On being liberated in 1641 by the Long Parliament, he was awarded 3000*l.* out of the Royalist estates as compensation for his sufferings.

He entered the parliamentary army in 1641, in which he speedily rose to the rank of a lieutenant-colonel of dragoons; and he was soon distinguished for his bravery and his popularity among the soldiers.* But his restless mind and distracted temper rendered him an impracticable officer.

The trial of this person, who had been imprisoned in the Tower for his dangerous attempts to overturn the government and disseminate the spirit of mutiny in the army, is an event of too great importance to escape with a mere passing notice. This restless spirit was not to be subdued by the severity of imprisonment, nor yet by the fear of death. He seems to have no kindly sentiment or respect for any living person, unless it were affection for his wife and kindred; and he defied all mankind. He was by his own declarations ready for any violence—even to assassinate Cromwell and the council of state.† He was liberated on the 18th of July, 1649, and he might have lived without any further interference on the part of the government, if he had

* It appears evident, from the frequent notices which are to be found in Whitlocke of Lilburne, that he was a far more important, and even more honest, though dangerous and misdirected, man than is generally known. Of his temper, it was said that he was so quarrelsome that "if there were no one living but John Lilburne, that John would dispute with Lilburne, and Lilburne would quarrel with John."

† He wrote Fairfax, in 1647, that "if I had come to the army, I could with so many good fellows, with my sword, have done justice and execution upon those treacherous fellows and tyrants at Westminster. I should have made no more scruple of conscience with my own hands to have destroyed them, than to have destroyed so many weasels and polecats."—Jugglers Discovered, p. 3-4. He at one time said to a friend of Sir Arthur Haselrig, "If you value Sir Arthur's life, say to him that I wear a good dagger by my right side, and a good rapier by my left, and if within eight days he does not send me my money" (grant for imprisonment by Charles), "let him look to himself; for after that day, wherever I meet him, I will pay him, for altogether, though I were cut in a thousand pieces on the very place."—Just Reproof to Haberdasher Hall, p. 6.

not immediately determined to brave authority, and to send forth his audacious and scurrilous writings, which, although framed with a remarkable knowledge of the law, were exceedingly mischievous, from the infectious doctrines which they inculcated. He contended, that according to the statute of treasons (of Edward III.), "bare words" were not punishable.* He was popular and eloquent as well as fearless. The late insurrection, of which he had been the main instigator, was suppressed, but he suffered not in the contest; and he now resolved to perish or to overturn the Commonwealth. He denounced the council of state as an usurped power, not supported, but condemned, by Royalists and Republicans. This was true. But the council was distinguished for the energy and sagacity of its members; and it was supported by men who reposed confidence in their general honesty, and in their declared sincerity for religious freedom, political liberty, private virtue, and national independence. Lilburne had previously sent forth from the Tower a production entitled "The Legal Fundamental Liberties of the

* But a new statute of treasons had been passed by the Commonwealth on the 17th of July, 1649, in order to provide for the prosecution of Lilburne and other libellers. But he denied the legality of this statute. Its provisions were chiefly "that, whereas the parliament had abolished kingly government, and resolved that the people should be governed by their own representatives; it was hereby enacted, that whoever should maliciously publish, by writing, printing, &c., that the government was tyrannical, usurped, and unlawful, and not the supreme authority; or should plot, or endeavour to stir up, or raise forces against the present government for the subversion thereof, or against the keepers of the liberties of *England*, or the council of state, or any of them, should be deemed guilty of high treason. And that whoever (not being an officer or soldier) should endeavour to stir up any mutiny in the army, or withdraw the soldiers from their obedience to their superior officers, or should invite foreigners to invade the kingdom, or counterfeit the great seal, should likewise be adjudged guilty of high treason."

People of England Revived, Asserted, and Vindicated." This political essay contained many truths, mixed up with vehement scurrility and inflammatory doctrines. No one can deny the truth of his assertion, "that the remainder of the few knights, citizens, and burgesses, whom Colonel Pride thought it convenient to leave as most fit for his and his master's designs, to destroy the good old laws, liberties, and customs of England, and by force of arms to rob the people of their lives, estates, and properties, could not properly be called the nation's or people's parliament, but the parliament of Pride and his associates."*

Some time after he made a ludicrous proposal to the council of state. "Let the House of Commons," said he, "choose two men, and the lords choose other two, and let these four, if they cannot agree, fix upon a fifth; let the debate be public, and let me have free leave to speak myself; and if my innocency be not thus established, I will forfeit and lose all I have, and my life to boot. If this proposal is not accepted within the next five days, I shall hold myself free to do what I mean, in anatomising what I know, public or privately, of you or your associates."

* "By purging parliament and suffering none to sit but for the major part a company of absolute schoolboys, who, like good boys, will say their lessons after their lords and masters, and so be *a screen* with the name of a parliament, and the shadow of authority to pick the people's pockets, they have placed themselves in parallel to none but a company of murderers, thieves, and robbers; who may justly be dispossessed by the first force that is able to do it." Further on he styles them "a company of bloody and inhuman butchers." And towards the close he addresses the men whom he considered as at the head of the government: "Oh! Cromwell, Fairfax, Ireton, Haselrig—I will answer you as Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego answered your brother tyrant Nebuchadnezzar."—Lilburne's Legal Fundamental Liberties, &c., Asserted.

This communication remained unnoticed; and on the 17th of July he wrote to Lord Grey of Groby, and some others, requesting that he should be set at liberty for a few days, in order to visit his family, as his son had died the day before of small-pox. On the motion of Henry Marten that he should be liberated on security, he was discharged on the following day. But two or three weeks afterwards he sent forth a publication entitled "The Impeachment of High Treason against Cromwell and Ireton," in which he recapitulates the charge he had made before the king's death, of Cromwell's having been seduced by Charles to abandon the patriots by an offer of the title of Earl of Essex and the garter; and that he would have abandoned "the good cause" if he could have drawn the army over to the king. This tract produced no immediate effect, but it was followed by another, entitled "An Outcry of the Young Men and Apprentices of London, addressed to the Private Soldiers of the Army, and especialy the General's Regiment of Horse, who helped to plunder and destroy the honest and true-hearted Englishmen, traitorously defeated at Burton." To this address he procured the signatures of ten apprentices. After passionately reminding the army of its responsibilities in regard to the actions of Cromwell and the parliament, he continued: "For us, we will never by popular petition address ourselves to the men sitting at Westminster, or take notice of them but as so many tyrants and usurpers; and will endeavour to hinder all others from doing so. We urge you, as a pledge of future correspondence and sympathy, to choose from among

yourselves two of the ablest, most consistent, and faithful men in each troop and company, to proceed in the way of a council of agitators, after the model of that in 1647."*

Lilburne had fixed on the beginning of September to make a grand effort with his fellow-conspirators to subvert the government. He distributed copies of the "Outcry" among the soldiers of Fairfax's cavalry regiment, and he had frequent meetings with some officers of the army and several members of parliament.

Some of the most dangerous "Levellers" in prison, such as Walwyn, Overton, and Prince, were allowed the liberty of the Tower. The first endeavours of the government to counteract the proceedings of Lilburne and the Levellers were unsuccessful. The regiment under Ingoldsby, governor of Oxford, mutinied, imprisoned their officers, and fortified the new college. They chose agitators from the ranks, as recommended in the "Outcry of the Apprentices." Some other disturbances followed, but they were soon suppressed by the masterly conduct of Fairfax and Cromwell; and the regiment of Ingoldsby returned to obedience.

Lilburne was arrested, and a commission of *Oyer* and *Terminer* ordered for his trial and that of the other disturbers of the public tranquillity. This court consisted of Keble, one of the commissioners of the great seal, eight puisne judges, the lord mayor, the recorder, the common serjeant, nine

* Evidence of Lewis, Skinner, and Took. See also Salmon's State Trials, pp. 230 to 232.

aldermen of the city of London, and two other persons.

But on the 22nd of October Lilburne promulgated another paper, which he styled "The Innocent Man's Second Proffer." He demanded the arrears due him from the vote of compensation for the punishment inflicted upon him by the Star Chamber, on which condition he offered, on being allowed the society of some persons who wished to accompany him, to expatriate himself for ever, by going either to America or the West Indies, "and thereby relieve the government from any future opposition." Instead of any notice being taken of this impudent proposal, he was brought to trial three days afterwards. He objected to the commission of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, declaring that it was not "agreeable to the petition of right, and the rest of the good old laws of England." This objection was overruled; but on his being required to hold up his hand at the bar, he refused to do so, saying that "it was rather a ticklish point, by which he might throw away his life before he knew its meaning." The judge said he was "required to hold up his hand in order to signify that he was the person who was brought to trial, but if he allowed himself to be John Lilburne, that would be sufficient." "Then," said the prisoner, "my name is John Lilburne; I am the son of Mr. Richard Lilburne, of Durham; I am a freeman of London; and was lately a lieutenant-colonel in the parliamentary army; but I desire you not to be severe on me with punctilios."

He was then told by the court, that "if he talked of punctilios they would soon stop that language."

"Then," replied Lilburne, "give me leave to speak, or knock me on the head where I stand. Remember that Mr. Bradshaw, president of the high court of justice, as it was called, gave Duke Hamilton leave to speak to the punctilios of law, and for my life you will not grant me, that have been in arms for you, as much favour as was granted Duke Hamilton, who fought against you."*

When he was required to plead guilty or not guilty, he said, "I will not answer questions for or against myself; I desire a copy of my indictment, counsel, and time to consult with him, in order that I may not be entrapped with niceties and forms of law." On the indictment being read, he said, "I am not guilty of treasons in the manner and form as laid in the indictment. My demand is to be tried by the laws of England, and a legal jury of my equals, in the presence of that God who knows that this court is possessed with premeditated malice to destroy me, right or wrong."

* The boldness of this remarkable, wrong-tempered, and rash man, appears throughout his writings. In a tract called "Lilburne, Revived," printed in Holland in March, 1653, he says: "When my wife was lately with me, I told her that my banishment was as delightsome to me as my wedding-day, and I prayed her, as she loved my life and her own welfare, not to expose me to such hazardous and dangerous new temptations as I had lately been under. For, if it had not been for the strong affection I bore to her and my poor babes, I had, with my own right hand, at the house door, ended the quarrel between Cromwell and me and the rest of the freeborn people of England; with a paper of reasons in my left hand ready to be sent unto the Speaker, and with several other in my pocket to justify to the world the lawfulness of such an action by the laws of God, of nature, and of nations."

He was refused counsel as well as a copy of the indictment.

He pled his case with extraordinary ability. "You will allow," said he, "counsel to plead on an estate, you deny me a counsel to defend my life. Judges often take seven years to settle a question for money or land; you refuse me a few days to prepare for my defence." He charged the court with "usurping the arbitrary and tyrannical prerogatives of the king by those who took away his life," and whose "name was gone while the tyranny remained."*

The trial lasted two days, and although the charges against him were treason under the new laws of May and July, the jury and the people of England could not comprehend that language, however scurrilous and contumelious, was an offence for which a man should forfeit his life. He met all the charges with wonderful boldness, skill, and address. He was unfairly treated by the judges; and although he used expressions of great severity and even contempt, his language was neither in-

* The indictment charged him with intending to disturb the government then happily established without king or House of Lords as a Commonwealth and free state, and that, to bring them into the hatred and contempt of the good people of England, he had written and published treasonable libels; the first, entitled "Salva Libertate;" 2. "Impeachment of High Treason against Oliver Cromwell and his son-in-law Ireton, late members of the forcibly dissolved House of Commons;" 3. "High Treason Outcry against Arthur Haselrig;" 4. "Outcry of the Young Men and Apprentices of London; or, Lamentations after the Lost Fundamental Laws and Liberties of England, directed to the Soldiers of the Army;" 5. "The Legal Fundamental Laws and Liberties of the People Revived, Asserted, and Vindicated;" declaring that the present government was tyrannically usurped and unlawful, "that the commons assembled in parliament were not the supreme authority of the nation," and "that the said John Lilburne, not an officer, soldier, or member of the army, did traitorously endeavour to excite mutiny and rebellion in the army under General Fairfax."—Salmon's State Trials, 228.

temperate nor irregular. He perplexed the judges and counsel, by placing them frequently in a wrong position, both in law and practice; indeed, his whole defence was distinguished by logical argument and remarkable acuteness. His air was solemn, and his expression and tone, and his willingness to become a self-sacrifice "for the good cause of liberty," overawed the jury; his religious appeal, and the style of conscientious innocence which distinguished his defence, appear wonderful even at the present day.* Godwin remarks that "Lilburne was treated by the court who tried him in the most unjust and overbearing manner; but when was it otherwise? What are the courts of justice, and what are the trials for treason, where the well-paid and the lawyers sit in judgment upon a helpless and unfortunate individual, against whom the entire government are the prosecuting party?" These remarks are just. To institute a court for trying cases of libel in which sat as judges the keeper of the seal, eight members of the courts of law, and thirty-two other men holding important authority, has an unequivocal appearance of having been formed with the predetermined resolution of taking away his life. "Never," says Godwin, "in any other country than England, could such a trial have occurred with such a termination. He must be little of an Englishman who does not feel himself elevated with the scene. The men who decided the fate of Lilburne were not men determined to acquit him at all events. They were desirous to do justice and to discharge their

* Salmon's State Trials, pp. 228-232. See Note, Appendix.

consciences." They had the courage to do what they believed it became them to do—they acquitted him, and he was liberated from his confinement on the 8th of November.*

One inevitable consequence of a Commonwealth government, which had neither the support nor the approbation of a great majority of the people, was, that no reliance could be placed on the verdict of juries in prosecutions for political charges. The acquittal of Lilburne was a proof of this fact, and led to the passing of an act of parliament appointing a high court of justice, by which jury trials, for ages considered the glory of England and the palladium of an Englishman's liberty, were abolished. It is more remarkable, that under a Commonwealth government a court of so high an arbitrary authority should be found necessary or practicable; but the condition of England under that form of government was such as to render it not only expedient, but indispensable for the maintenance of the Republic. Having founded a Commonwealth, its administrators were bound to maintain its power; and while the Royalists and Presbyterians were in a great majority; while the Irish had actually offered the crown to Charles, and invited him to come and reside among them; while the Scotch, immediately on the death of Charles I., proclaimed Charles II. King of Great Britain; when the leaders of the great Irish Rebellion of 1641 had created terror among all Protestants, it was con-

* On being acquitted by the jury, he was however remanded, and confined in the Tower from that day, the 26th of October, until the 8th of November. The assembly in the court cheered when the verdict of the jury was pronounced, and bonfires were lighted during the night in honour of Lilburne.

sidered necessary to reinstitute a tribunal in many respects similar to that which had declared Charles I. guilty of high treason, and passed sentence of death on a king.

The first court which the Commonwealth established in London was one of the nature of a court-martial, entitled a "High Court of Justice."* But its commissioners included six of the judges, the Recorder of London, and several eminent lawyers; and one cause of its institution was the assassination of two of the ambassadors of the Commonwealth by the English exiles: the one, Dorislaus, being assassinated at the Hague, and the other, Ascham, at Madrid. Among the persons first tried were Judge Jenkins, who abetted Lilburne against Cromwell, Sir John Stowell, Sir John Davenant, Colonels Walter, Slingsby, and Gerard, and Captain Brown Bushell. All were condemned to capital punishment, but Bushell alone was executed; and Judge Jenkins, a man of great intrepidity, declared that if he were hanged he should die with the Bible under one arm and *Magna Charta* under the other. Davenant was a poet, and his unfinished epic of Gaudibert abounds with exquisite stanzas. Several persons were detected in correspondence with Charles II., and some of them, who held from him blank commissions, were tried by the court of high commission and executed.†

The trial of Sir Henry Hyde, the relative of the Earl of Carendon, deserves, from its peculiar circumstances, more especial reference. He was a merchant in the Turkish dominions, and English consul for the

* Journals, March 14, 20, 21, 26.
† Order Book, July 9; Eachard.

Morea. Sir Thomas Bendish, who had been appointed ambassador to the Porte by Charles I., entertained democratical principles, and his credentials were therefore renewed by the parliament. In the mean time, Charles II., for some purpose not sufficiently explained, nominated Sir Henry Hyde, under the title of *Internuncio*, at Constantinople; where, with the assent of the grand vizier, he was kidnapped by the British merchants and sent by sea to England. He was arraigned by the high court of justice for having "plotted, contrived, endeavoured to stir up, and raise a force against the present government in order to subvert it, and he was therefore declared guilty of treason."

Accepting a commission from Charles II. to act as his *Internuncio* while the king possessed no authority whatever in England, was held to be an act of the most unjustifiable nature on the part of Sir Henry Hyde. He also attempted to interfere with the ambassador of the parliament to the detriment of British interests within the Turkish dominions. But his arrest at Constantinople, although founded on precedents in Holland and other countries in Western Europe, was irregular and illegal. The Commonwealth, however, now resolved, that with regard to foreign countries, no one but the ambassador appointed by the parliament should be accredited as a British minister. In accordance with a positive act to this effect, the high court of justice found Sir Henry Hyde guilty of treason, and he was executed on the 4th of March, 1651.*

* Athenæ Oxoniensis, vol. ii., p. 1152; Whitelock; Loyd, p. 559, *et seq.*; Rushworth, vol. v., p. 265; Heath, p. 235.

Of the six persons who were first tried by the court, Brown Bushell was an outlaw and a pirate. He had been guilty of numerous crimes, and had betrayed all parties. He secured the port of Scarborough for the parliament, and then treacherously gave it up to Charles I. But afterwards, on receiving the command of a ship from the parliament, he became the chief cause, in 1648, of the revolt of the fleet which sailed to aid the king in Holland. For these treacheries and other crimes he was condemned and executed.

The learned Claudius Salmasius, who was in high reputation for his learning, was seduced, or rather purchased by the exiled court of Charles II.* From his writings, Salmasius seems to have enthusiastically entertained the delusion that his book, by exposing the Commonwealth to the ridicule and execration of Europe, would restore the Stuarts to the throne of England. As the English language was little understood either at the courts or in the states of the continent, the political, religious, and social condition of England was little comprehended, and as Salmasius wrote in Latin, his statements, however erroneous, were received with favour by the learned, who made them matter of discourse even at the courts of France, Spain, Germany, Denmark, and Sweden. The council of the Commonwealth therefore considered it necessary to reply in that language, setting

* His work is entitled "*Defensio Regia pro Carolo Primo ad Carolum Secundum.*" 1649-50. It was intended by the Royalists to produce the same effect in foreign countries which they expected would result from the reading of the *Eikon Basilike*, or "the King's Book," in England. Fifty editions of the *Eikon* were published in the year after the death of Charles I.; and Milton admits that its effects were as great on the English, as the reading of Cæsar's will by Antony on the tumultuous Romans.

forth, in a style at least as pure, eloquent, and logical, a defence of their government.

This task was committed to John Milton, who had previously written an answer to the *Eikon Basilike.** Milton exposed not only the fallacies of Salmasius, but his inconsistency, in having previously written with great zeal in favour of a republican government, and with sarcastic animosity against the English hierarchy; so that even the previous fame of Salmasius contributed to expose him to mankind as a mercenary rhetorician, who stood forth as the champion of principles which he believed to be false. Milton, who until this time was unknown in Europe, now commanded by his learning,—by the force of his arguments,—by the purity of his diction,—and by the eloquence and even wit of his language, the admiration of the most learned, able, and impartial judges on the continent. But the acrimonious and unmerciful style of those controversial writings would not be tolerated either from a Milton or from any author of the present age.†

* This first book of Milton was called "*Iconoclastes;*" the reply to Salmasius was entitled "*Johannis Miltoni Angli pro populo Anglicano Defensio.*" 1649. See Note, Appendix.

† Christina of Sweden was so fascinated with the writings of Salmasius, that she invited him to Stockholm, where she received him with the most flattering distinction, and while he lay sick attended him for hours in his bed-chamber. But on her receiving the work of Milton she read it with an admiration which was mortifying to Salmasius. She, however, acted with kindness towards the latter, and when he desired to remove to a mild climate, she sent him forth with respect and honour. He died at Spa soon after; and it was stated by Anthony Wood that the fame of Milton was so great, that "all foreigners who visited London made it a point to visit the house and room in Bread-street where the poet was born." It is also asserted that the writing of this work brought on and completed the blindness of the author.

CHAPTER III.

THE PURITANS—THEIR ORIGIN—PERSECUTIONS UNDER JAMES I.—CONFERENCE AT HAMPTON COURT, AND CONSEQUENT SEVERITIES—PEDANTRY OF THE KING—THEIR PERSECUTION BY CHARLES I. AND II.—EMIGRATIONS TO AMERICA.

We would but imperfectly comprehend the moral and religious state of Great Britain, Ireland, and the plantations, without a fair knowledge of the origin, rise, numbers, and sufferings of the Puritans, as well as of their merits and defects,—of their ardour for political liberty and their religious intolerance.

The licentious manners which prevailed at the court of Queen Elizabeth, and which were imitated and practised by the nobility and gentry, and especially by all those who were opposed to the liberal party in the House of Commons and in the country, were viewed with horror and regarded as impious and unchristian by all the Nonconformists, and especially by the Puritans. Nor can it be concealed that the misfortunes of the Stuarts were greatly owing to the immoralities of the court of James I., and of the Royalists during his reign as well as that of his successor. To account for the austere manners and the

scriptural phraseology of the Puritans, it will be necessary to trace the rise and the sufferings of that sect.

The Protestants who fled from England during the persecutions in the reign of Queen Mary, resorted chiefly to Switzerland and Germany. Those who were opposed to Queen Elizabeth's act of uniformity found a refuge at Frankfort-on-the-Maine. They had suffered grievously by the tyranny of Archbishop Parker, and by the unrelenting cruelty of Whitgift. They were cruelly tortured to enforce confessions; and if the *rack*, *scavenger's daughter*, *iron screw gauntlets*, and the *cell of little ease* were instruments to inflict excruciating barbarity on the Papists, the Puritans did not always escape the horrid pains of the engines of Elizabeth's diabolical High Commission Court.* By sentence of that despotic tribunal, or English inquisition, many of the early Nonconformists were not only subjected to domiciliary visits, imprisoned, tortured, and fined, but they were also either banished the kingdom or executed as traitors.† But, on the other hand, if the dignitaries of the Church of England were intolerant and cruel, the Puritans were afterwards frequently intemperate, imprudent, and uncharitable. Papists were denounced by them as idolators, and to tolerate the Romish worship was execrated as a deadly sin. But their difficulties were greatly increased by the high church-

* Mary has been justly styled the *Bloody*. Was Elizabeth less deserving that title? Under her, sixty-one clergymen, forty-seven laymen, and two gentlemen, all Catholics, and several Puritans were put to death on account of religion. Other pretences were often, but not justly charged against them. See Strype's Grindal; Neal; Challoner's Memoirs, vol. i.; Birch, i., 84, 89, *et. seq.*; Strype, vol. iii., 249-419.

† Neal's History of the Puritans. See Note, Appendix.

men, when they stigmatised and persecuted all Non-conformists as *Mar-Prelatists.**

To several hundred livings, from which Puritan ministers had been expelled, ignorant and incapable clergymen were generally appointed. Many of them could not preach, and the congregations, who were compelled to attend, heard little else than the mere liturgy and prayers of the Church. Cecil, Lord Burleigh, expostulated—but unsuccessfully—with Queen Elizabeth against the conduct of the bishops, observing, "I am bold to think that they in these dangerous times take a very ill and unadvised course in driving them (the Puritans) from their cures; because, though they are squeamish and nice in their opinions, and more scrupulous than need be, yet, with their careful catechising and diligent teaching, they bring forth that fruit which your most excellent majesty desire and wish, namely, the lessening and diminishing of the Popish numbers."† Burleigh was, however, a declared and unrelenting foe to the Roman

* The tracts which were published under the name of "Martin Mar-Prelate" were secretly printed by a private press, moved from place to place. It was at length traced to Manchester and seized. Yet Martin continued to send forth his missives, and, like Junius, his secret died with him. The first tract appeared in the year 1589. In one of them he says: "I am threatened by you. What though I were hanged do you think the cause would be better? For the day you hang Martin, assure yourselves there will twenty Martins spring up in his place. Assure yourselves I will prove *Mar-Prelate* ere I am done with you. I am alone; no man under heaven is privy or hath ever been privy to my writing against you. I have used the advice of none therein. You hath and doth suspect divers, as Master Paget, Mr. Whittington, Mr. Udall, Mr. Penry, to make Martin. If they can't clear themselves their silliness is pitiful, and they are worthy of deadly punishment."—"Haywork for the Cooper," pp. 20-21; Collier, vol. ii., pp. 606-607; Bancroft, chap. iii., p. 46. See Note, Appendix.

† Somers' Tracts, vol. i., p. 166. According to Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. i., pp. 245-268, and Hallam, vol. i., p. 214, there was not one minister of the Church of England in five, taking the kingdom throughout, who was capable of preaching.

Catholics. But he wrote "that priests might be hanged only; and that the manner of drawing and quartering might be forborne."*

The English Protestant exiles in Holland, Germany, France, and Switzerland, were treated with liberality and sympathy by the Protestants in those countries; although some of the Lutherans, in their zeal for the mystical doctrine of consubstantiation, were as intolerant as the Nonconformists were afterwards to all other sects in England. At Frankfort, however, the French Calvinists had erected a church, which was open for the use of the English Protestants on condition that the latter subscribed to the French confession of faith, and as far as they conscientiously could to the French service. To this arrangement the magistrates of Frankfort and the French and English Protestants unanimously agreed, and resolved that the litany and the surplice, and other Popish ceremonies, should be omitted in the service of the Reformed Church. The Calvinistic confession of faith was adopted, and the service was commenced by singing a psalm and prayer, and, after a sermon, concluded by psalmody and prayer. The ministration of the sacraments was also purified from all that was considered papistical, superstitious, and superfluous.† The congregation at Frankfort constituted, therefore, the first association to whom was given the name of Puritans; although Bishop Hooper, and probably a few others, entertained nearly the same opinions with respect to

* Birch, i., 84 to 94; Strype, iii., 622.

† Troubles at Frankfort, 1575. The fact is admitted by Bancroft in his Survey of the Holy Discipline, pp. 35 and 37. It is to be found in the collection of tracts, *Phœnix Britannica.*

the service of the Church in the reign of Edward VI. The congregation at Frankfort invited the English Protestants at Strasburg and Zurich to join them; but the latter refused, and resolved to follow the "order of service which was in England last set forth by King Edward."

John Knox was invited from Geneva to become their pastor at Frankfort. He endeavoured, by referring to the judgment of Calvin, to reunite under one formulary all the Protestant exiles; and he probably would have succeeded were it not for the intolerance of Dr. Cox, a Conformist divine, who, with a number of his followers, arrived at Frankfort and commenced a violent and persecuting opposition to the Puritan congregation. The number of his followers were so great as to form the majority of Protestants at Frankfort, who continued their persecution until the Puritan congregation removed with Knox to Geneva, and partly with Fox, the historian of the martyrs, to Basel. On the accession of Queen Elizabeth they returned to England, where they became the founders of the different sects of Independents and Presbyterians, who were long comprehended under the general denomination of Puritans. The vices of the court,—the licentious manners of the nobility and gentry,—the sports upon Sunday,—the pageants, and the indecencies of the age,—presented a remarkable contrast to the austere morality and the scrupulous observance of the Sabbath by the Puritans, who allowed no amusement or labour whatever on that day. It was strictly the Sabbath of the Old Testament. They admitted of no holidays during the week,—no dancing,—no music, excepting the

Psalm tunes,—no cheerfulness nor profane speech, —and they denounced the lewd morals, drunkenness, and other vices, as well as many of the harmless amusements and manly exercises of the age. Th ir numbers multiplied rapidly in the country and in the towns, and before the end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and during the reign of King James, they included a great majority of the middle classes, and were represented by a majority in the House of Commons.*

On the accession of James I. to the crown of England, the Puritans, and especially the Presbyterians, expected—not mere toleration from that prince, but, the most perfect freedom of religious worship. It was believed, that having been reared from his childhood in the doctrines of Calvin, and having conformed to the Presbyterian faith, and to Church government in Scotland, he would not merely have given the preference to that creed and ceremonial of worship, but that he would also act with a generous charity towards all sects, except Papists, who did not conform with the Episcopalian establishment and the liturgy of the Church of England. It had been his public boast that he belonged to "the purest Kirk in the world," and that "as long as he should brooke his life he would maintain its principles." But, as we have observed in the preceding volume, he detested the democratic institutions of the Church of Scotland, and he yearned for the establishment over the three kingdoms of a hierarchy which empowered the king, as its supreme head by divine right, to reduce its public worship, and even its ceremonials, to the royal

* Fuller's Church History; Neal's History of the Puritans.

control. He had scarcely ascended the throne of England than he declared, that "where there was no bishop there would shortly be no king;" and he even stated that "he was converted from the republican Kirk of Scotland to the Episcopal Church of England six years before his accession to the English throne.*

At the conference held by him at Hampton Court, the Puritans demanded the simplification and reform of both the liturgy and the hierarchy; but before admitting to his presence four of the leading Puritan clergymen, the king, in consultation with the bishops and his privy council, "thanked God he had brought him to the promised land,—to the country where religion must be purely professed,—and where he sat among grave, reverend, and learned men; not as before, elsewhere, a king without state, without honour, and without order, and braved to his face by beardless boys under the garb of ministers." At this conference, James argued as a theologian among the bishops and ministers; nor was his language delicate with respect to the Presbyterians and the Kirk of Scotland. While he strangely mixed up political views with religious principles, he evidently showed that the former were, according to the royal mind and temper, paramount to the latter. To the council of bishops he said: "If you aim at a Scottish Presbytery, it agreeth as well with monarchy as God with the devil. Then Jack, and Tom, and Will, and Dick shall meet, and at their pleasure censure me and my council and all our proceedings. Will shall stand up and say it must be thus. Then Dick shall say, Nay,

* Calderwood, p. 45.

marry, but we will have it thus; and therefore I must once more reiterate my former speech, and say, *Le roi s'avisera.*"* When the dissenting ministers were admitted before the conference, the utmost that James would concede to them was, that the Scriptures should be carefully translated and published; that the apochrypha should not be considered canonical; that some of the articles of the Church which appeared obscure should be explained; that a national Church Catechism should be prepared in accordance with the Scriptures and the articles; and that a certain period would be allowed before conformity to the Established Church should be enforced.†

James was elated and proud of having had an opportunity of exhibiting his theological erudition amidst a magnificent assemblage of bishops and other divines, surrounded by the lords of his council and other dignities; and when he had finished a rambling and pedantic discourse, the Archbishop of Canterbury was mean enough to exclaim that "his majesty spoke by the special assistance of God's spirit." He was followed by the Bishop of London, who exclaimed that "his heart melted within him on hearing the king, the like of whom had not been since the time of Christ."‡ Instead, however, of reasoning logically, and in correct English, with such men as Dr. Reynolds, James mingled obscure Latin with scolding language; and, unable to use temperate speech and sound arguments, he impatiently told the Puritans that

* January, 1604.

† Fuller's Church History; Montague's Letter in Wynwood, vol. ii., p. 13 to 16; Rymer, vol. xvi., pp. 569-574.

‡ Neal's History of the Puritans; Howell, vol. ii., pp. 86-87; Nugæ Antiquæ, vol. i., p. 81.

"they wanted to strip Christ again, and he bade them be done with their snivelling." On which the bishops again expressed their admiration, exclaiming, "His majesty spoke by the power of inspiration." James said, "I peppered them as soundly as you have done the Papists; they followed me from argument to argument, till I was forced to say, that if any of their disciples had answered them in that sort, they would have fetched him up in place of a reply."*

But at this early period of his reign he altogether overlooked the power and the number of the Puritans; nor was he reminded that they had in the House of Commons acquired, during the latter years of Elizabeth, an ascendancy and an authority which compelled that haughty princess to yield many of the concessions which they demanded. In the first parliament of King James, the Speaker who was then elected, boldly followed up, in his address to the king, the spirit and principles which were manifested in the parliament of Elizabeth; and he informed his majesty, with respectful frankness, "that new laws could not be instituted, nor imperfect laws reformed, nor inconvenient laws abrogated, by any other power than that of the high court of parliament—that is, by the agreement of the commons, the accord of the lords, and the assent of the king; that to him belonged the right, either negatively or affirmatively, to ratify, but he could not institute. Every bill must pass the two houses before they could be submitted to his pleasure."†

* Hearne's Titus Livius, 197; Sir John Harington's Nugæ, &c., vol. i., p. 181.

† Parliamentary History; Journals of the Commons, pp. 149-151. See also last volume, Reign of James I.

The religious state of England at this period was in many respects lamentable: for, not only the English hierarchy, but the Dissenters, Presbyterians, and Puritans, clamoured for the execution of the penal laws of Elizabeth against the Roman Catholics. Those laws, in their severity, disqualified any person who, after their enactment, lived within any college or school beyond the sea, from inheriting lands, chattels, annuities, debts, or money, within the realm of England; nor was any person allowed to teach publicly or privately without the permission of a bishop.*

While the parliament which re-enacted these persecuting laws held its sittings, the convocation of the clergy, which was at the same time assembled, framed and promulgated a code of 141 Church canons. Under these laws, all persons were to be excommunicated on the fact of their denying the supremacy of the king, or the orthodoxy of the English Church; who considered any one of the thirty-nine articles erroneous; who affirmed that the *ordinal* was repugnant to the word of God; and, finally, all who should separate from the Established Church and *form* conventicles, or who affirmed that religious or ecclesiastical regulations might be imposed without the consent of the king as the supreme head of the Church. These enactments, with others for regulating the celebration of divine worship, the administration of the sacraments, the residence and duties of incumbents, and the regulation and practice of the ecclesiastical courts, were confirmed by the king under the great seal.

It will be evident to all acquainted with the con-

* Statute 1 James I., chap. 4.

stitutional laws of England, and with the legislative principles which were laid down by the Speaker in his address at the opening of parliament, that the canons of the convocation, and the assent of the king to them, were contrary to the laws of the land. But in the next session of parliament the commons passed a bill declaring "that no canon law or ecclesiastical constitution framed or passed within the last ten years, or that should be made thereafter, would, or should have no force in hurting or impeaching any person in his liberty, goods, lands, or life, unless such laws were first instituted and passed by act. of parliament." This bill fell to the ground in consequence of the king and the bishops uniting against its principle; and in order to prevent its being read a third time parliament was dissolved.* But the judges of Westminster afterwards declared, that, although the canons of the convocation of 1604 might bind the ecclesiastics who framed them, the sanction of the parliament was indispensable, before those canons could have any legal binding power over the people.†

Notwithstanding the illegality of those canons, all the incumbents of livings who did not conform to them were silenced or deprived. The Puritans resisted,—the king contended obstinately, and rejoiced, as head of the Church, in supporting Bancroft, the successor of Whitgift. The ministers who were deprived of their livings, with their families, were reduced to great distress. Some were imprisoned;

* It was passed the next session.

† Dalrymple's Memorials, vol. i., p. 22 to 25; Somers' Tracts, 2 and 14; Journals of the Lords and Commons.

several went into voluntary exile. The number of ministers who were deprived of their livings is uncertain, as the Churchmen reduced them to fifty, while the Puritans increased them to three hundred. Those deprivations were, according to Hume, mild severities exercised by James and Charles.*

But if we condemn the persecution of the Puritans, we cannot defend the intolerance of that sect towards the Roman Catholics. They charged James with persecuting the disciples, while he showed favour to the enemies of Christ; and they even accused him of being a Papist. The king was highly irritated and incensed at this charge, and he immediately issued a proclamation commanding the discovery of Popish recusants, the banishment of all Catholic priests or missionaries, and the immediate execution of the penal laws against the adherents of that religion. He vehemently declared to the Star Chamber, that so thoroughly did he detest Popery in his heart, that he hoped none of his children would succeed him on the throne if they ceased to support the Established Church of the realm.

After numerous confiscations were made of the property of the Popish recusants, which yielded large sums, the Gunpowder Plot followed, and severe and sanguinary punishments were inflicted on the principals and accomplices of that memorable conspiracy. The persecution of the Roman Catholics was continued; and the Nonconformists were not only persecuted, but James ordered two of their number

* Hearne's History; Collyer, vol. ii., p. 687; Winwood, vol. ii., p. 49; Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. i., part ii.

to be burnt alive, the one in Smithfield and the other at Norwich.* Shortly after, some scandal disturbed the Church, arising from the fact that Archbishop Abbot, while hunting with Lord Zouch at Bramshill Park, in Hampshire, having fired at a buck, he either by accident, or probably want of skill, shot the keeper of the park, who was passing at some distance on horseback; and although the coroner's inquest returned a verdict of accidental homicide, it was contended by many of the clergy, who were his opponents, that hunting, in which deadly weapons were employed, was prohibited by the canons. It was further argued that, even if the right of chase was yielded to the prelates as secular barons, they should do no more than employ their lay servants as their deputies;† and four bishops elect refused consecration at the hands of their metropolitan until the question of his regularity was proved or disproved. One of these was Williams, the lord-keeper, another was Laud, then Bishop of St. David's. James, however, pardoned Abbot; and he directed that eight bishops should assume, as one of their grounds of decision, that the right of hunting was justifiable by a bishop or clergyman, provided that every precaution were employed against accident. Those eight bishops, therefore, absolved the metropolitan, but he never afterwards appeared at court except on occasions of ceremony; and he was hated by the high churchmen for licensing, with facility, publications or writings which were not favourable to the discipline and ceremonies of the Church.

The indulgences which James, in his anxiety to

* Fuller, l. x., p. 62 to 64.

† See Howell's State Trials.

form a marriage alliance with Spain, extended to the Roman Catholics, gave great offence; not only to the Puritans and Presbyterians, but to the more zealous members of the English Church.* But no sooner was the treaty with Spain at an end than fresh proceedings were instituted against the Roman Catholics. Notwithstanding the former indulgences, James scrupled not to "call God to witness that he never intended to dispense with the penal laws;" and his son Charles bound himself with an oath, that "whenever it should please God to bestow on him any lady who should be Popish, she should have no further liberty but her own family, and that no advantages to the recusants would be extended by him."†

A proclamation was then issued, directing all Popish missionaries, under pain of death, to leave the kingdom, and ordering judges and magistrates to put into immediate execution the penal laws against the Papists. The lord mayor was required to arrest all persons who went and came from mass at the houses of any of the foreign ambassadors. These severities were in some degree mitigated by the interposition of the lords, although the Puritans were at the same time cruelly persecuted in various parts of the country.

The spirit of persecution was not relaxed during the reign of Charles I.; until the resistance of the Independents, Presbyterians, and other Dissenters weakened the power of the Church, so that neither the intolerants nor the king were able to persevere

* In 1622.

† Journals of the Commons, p. 756; Lords, p. 317.

longer in their uncharitable and cruel proceedings. But the Church of England had become infected with Armenianism, which was termed "the spawn of Popery;" and this "heresy," as it was called, received special favour at the court, where Armenian prelates and clergymen were distinguished; and Montague, a decided Armenian, was raised to the see of Chichester. The king, as supreme head of the Church, went even so far as to publish a new edition of the articles of the Church, which included a long disputed clause, "that the Church hath power to declare rights and ceremonies, and hath authority in matters of faith;" declaring at the same time that no minister should be allowed at any time to teach doctrines not in conformity with those articles,—that they should be taken in their plain meaning,—and that no controversy should be allowed, but that all disputes respecting the policy of the Church should be determined by a convocation.*

It was in proposing and carrying an entry on the journals of parliament, styled "a vow" or dissent against the king's declaration, that Sir John Eliot first incurred the high displeasure of the Crown; and that he was fined and imprisoned accordingly. The cruelties and persecutions which followed occasioned great numbers, both of the ministers and lay members of the Puritans, and of those who had suffered penalties, imprisonment, and deprivation, to leave the kingdom; and those migrations to America which immediately followed, laid the foundations in the New England States of that sturdy and persevering contest for religious, civil, and political liberty, the

* Bibliotheca Regia, 213; Fuller, b. ix., 73-74.

final effects of which were the establishment of a government independent of the British sovereign. But the Puritans, though persecuted, still continued to gain strength at home.

The Covenanters, at the same period, in Scotland daily increased and acquired authority, and they united themselves to the English Presbyterians; who, before the death of Charles, formed, probably, the majority of the English nation: including in their numbers many of the nobility, and several of the more prominent of the country gentry.

The civil war then broke forth; *a solemn vow and covenant* was taken by the patriots. It was sworn for redeeming religious and civil liberty; but it was an oath of intolerance; it was also a vow of fanaticism. It was taken by the commons, and soon afterwards by the lords—by the citizens, and by the army. By an ordinance, it was promulgated that every man in his parish church was required to take the "vow and covenant." All those who took this oath, swore "never to consent to the laying down of arms so long as the Papists, in open war against the parliament, should be protected from the justice thereof; but, according to their power, and their affection for the statutes, that forces should be raised by the parliament against the forces raised by the king."*

* Journals, May 31, June 6, 14, 21, 27, 29; Rushworth, vol. v., pp. 322-323; Whitelock, pp. 67, 70, 105. The preamble to this covenant begins: "Whereas there has been, and now is, in this kingdom, Popish traitors plotting for the subversion of the true Protestant religion and liberty of the subject; in pursuance whereof a Popish army hath been raised, and is now on foot in divers parts of the kingdom." This was on the 27th of June, 1643; and the preamble is a palpable falsehood, for no other purpose than exciting hatred against the king; and, Dr. Lingard observes (in a note, vol. x., p. 212), "I am loth to charge the framers and supporters of this preamble with

But the civil war, the triumph of the parliament, the execution of Charles I., the institution of the Commonwealth government, terminated the persecution against the Puritans and Nonconformists,—although not the severities practised against the Roman Catholics,—and suppressed the whole authority of the episcopal hierarchy in England, until the restoration of Charles II.

The spiritual zeal and fanaticism; the religious enthusiasm for political liberty; the hatred of prelatic intolerance and kingly tyranny; the severe virtue and cheerless manners of the Puritans, were chiefly, if not altogether, originated and forced into an indomitable ascendancy by ecclesiastical persecution, and by royal despotism.

It was the same persecution and despotism which caused that similar power to take root and grow up amidst the wilderness of America, which eventually, by its stern force, wrought its independence of both the Church and State of England. But in America all the elements were new; and the Puritans planted their enthusiasm, doctrines, and morality in a virgin soil. Not so in England; the traditions, and prejudices, folly and wisdom, freedom and restraints, vices and virtues of many generations, divided and embarrassed

deliberate falsehood for the purpose of exciting odium against the king; but I think it impossible to view their conduct in any other light. The Popish plot and Popish army were fictions of their own to madden the passions of their adherents." Whoever will inquire impartially into the well-known facts of the time, the numerous threats and party disputes with regard to the army and its leaders, will probably agree with this learned and generally impartial historian; but we do not put much faith in the declaration of Charles when he was about to receive the sacraments from Archbishop Usher, although made before the whole congregation: for he soon after opened a correspondence and granted that flagrant commission to Glamorgan, which ended in a treaty with the supreme council of the Roman Catholics at Kilkenny.

the progress of real political and conscientious freedom. If the Nonconformists had been cruelly persecuted and arbitrarily oppressed, they, on acquiring and exercising power, became, in their turn, oppressors and persecutors. Oliver Cromwell understood the character, sentiments, devotion, fanaticism, and religious and political ardour of the Puritans or Independents more thoroughly than any man of the age. His powers of dissimulation and persuasion; his apparent honesty of purpose and openness of heart, moulded their stubborn minds, yet pious and honest hearts, into a zealous agreement with the designs of his strong will, superior intellect, and ambitious spirit. It was his skill and sagacity that created that formidable army of Puritans, by the force and bravery of which he overthrew royalty,—expelled the House of Lords,—abolished episcopacy in England,—conquered Ireland,—subdued Scotland,—and established the despotism of the sword over the three kingdoms.

CHAPTER IV.

THE AFFAIRS OF IRELAND.

CATHOLICS AND PRESBYTERIANS—INTRIGUES OF CHARLES I.—COUNCIL OF KILKENNY—PLOTS OF THE KING WITH GLAMORGAN TO RAISE AN IRISH ARMY TO INVADE ENGLAND—STATE OF IRELAND AFTER THE DEATH OF CHARLES—CIVIL WAR CONTINUED THERE UNTIL THE CONQUEST OF IRELAND BY OLIVER CROMWELL.

BEFORE the death of Queen Elizabeth, Mountjoy and his forces succeeded in restoring the authority of the crown in most districts of Ireland, and the Episcopal Church of England and its liturgy became an established institution of the country. But although the Protestant was considered the State Church, the Irish Catholics were allowed free toleration in the exercise of their worship. Feuds between the Irish chieftains continued to disturb the peace of Ireland, and naturally produced great poverty in a country having few arts, no sciences, and little industry or civilisation. James I. endeavoured, by sending colonists from Britain, to cultivate the soil, and promote trade and manufactures, and to reclaim the Irish from their rude customs and wild pursuits; but although successful in stimulating improvement and civilisation in a portion of the country, this policy was powerless in all other parts of Ireland, where it was opposed as *unnational*, by the language, the pre-

judices, the habits, and religion of the native Irish, between whom and the British colonists, who were chiefly Presbyterians or Puritans, there unfortunately existed a wide gulf of separation, which has unhappily, in that naturally highly-favoured country, divided Protestants and Catholics to the present day. The feelings of self-esteem of the Irish Roman Catholic landlords were unjustly irritated, and their interests arbitrarily interfered with, by frequent inquisitorial examinations of the tenures by which they held their lands. Patents, however old, were annulled, if they contained any irregularity of forms, however trivial, and lands were transferred from the rightful proprietors to men who had no other *right* than that they were favourites of the court. While historians and partisans bring charges of treason, violence, and atrocity against the Irish, let us impartially investigate the grievances inflicted on the Irish people.

Their previous severities were aggravated by the absolute administration of Strafford, who, although he had thoroughly subdued the nation, and boasted that he made Charles "as absolute in that kingdom as any monarch in Christendom," originated a power which afterwards caused destruction, massacre, and bloodshed in Ireland. In the year 1639, Strafford sent a detachment of five hundred men from his Irish army* to assist Charles in his expedition against the Scots. In the following year he raised a new army of eight thousand Irish Catholics, which, before his departure for England, he marched to the parts of Ireland most contiguous to Scotland. This army he left under

* Carte's Life of Ormond, pp. 99, 106, 108, 264, *et seq.* Strafford's Letters, vol. ii., pp. 235, 255, 261, 297, 391, 396, 403, 414.

the command of the Earl of Ormond, then thirty years of age, and considered a statesman and officer of superior abilities. But Charles having for a time compromised with the malcontents in Scotland, this army remained in Ireland.

Strafford, by his stern authority and his vigorous execution of the laws, commanded the entire submission of the people and parliament of Ireland. But he left no trace behind him of the stability of his measures, nor of any attachment for himself or for England. The subsidies which had been granted to him by the parliament were reduced, and although he was flattered, and his government extolled during his administration, the Long Parliament had scarcely assembled at Westminster than a committee from the parliament of Dublin arrived in London, and charged him with arbitrary tyranny, cruel injustice, and illegal oppression, while administering the affairs of Ireland. The forces which he had raised, armed, and subjected to military discipline, consisted of men draughted from among the Catholics in various parts of the kingdom. It was the first time that any large body of the Roman Catholics were trained in military discipline; and it would have been politic to have disbanded them, when their services were no longer required, and while there was a sufficient loyal force to maintain public tranquillity. But it was not the good fortune of Charles I. to act with moderation and wisdom. He relied upon this Irish army as an engine which he might employ in England either to awe or to disperse the Long Parliament.*

* White, p. 43. It appears by a paper of the minutes of the privy

The Long Parliament petitioned the king to disband the Irish Catholic army; but it appears to have been the intention of the king that none of the Irish troops should be paid off or sent to their homes until the Scottish forces had laid down their arms and dispersed.* The king, however, being repeatedly urged by the commons, at length consented to disband the Catholic army in Ireland; but this promise was not fulfilled further than by slowly discharging the men until the month of September; when it was asserted that one-half of their number were dispersed—the other half being still under arms at Carrickfergus.†

Charles soon after proposed that 4000 of the Irish Catholics who had been disciplined by the orders of Strafford, should be enlisted for the service of the King of Spain in Flanders; but this proposal was immediately rejected by the parliament, which wisely considered that those forces might as readily invade England from Flanders as they could be drawn over from Ireland into England. Besides, in the service of Spain, they would be employed in fighting against the Palatinate and against Protestants. The parliament therefore demanded that the soldiers embodied by Strafford should be at once discharged, and sent home to follow the peaceful occupations of husbandry.‡

council of May, 1640, produced on his trial, that Strafford stated to the king, "Your majesty has an army in Ireland that you may employ to order this kingdom to obedience." It was pleaded that the words "this kingdom" did not mean England, but Ireland,—a mere special quibble, it being too clear that Strafford did not raise the army to keep peace in Ireland, but to invade Scotland.

* Rushworth, vol. viii., p. 749.

† Rushworth, vol. viii., p. 756. Carte, p. 105-132.

‡ Journals, August 6-24; Rushworth, vol. iv., p. 381; in which see the speech of Sir B. Rudyard.

But, notwithstanding this opposition on the part of the Long Parliament, secret instructions were sent to the Earls of Ormond and Antrim for not only maintaining as a standing force the 8000 Catholics raised by Strafford, but to take measures for embodying 12,000 more, with the view of invading England and destroying at once the growing power of the Long Parliament. To these instructions he received a reply at York, when on his way to Scotland, stating that, in accordance with previous orders, they had disbanded the whole of the forces at Carrickfergus. At this time a large majority of the Irish parliament were Roman Catholics. Charles, therefore, sent pressing orders to Ormond to re-embody the dispersed army and to levy new forces; and he requested that the Irish parliament should be induced to declare against the parliament at Westminster; and that all persons who refused to comply—including the lord justices—should be arrested and kept in close confinement.* It would appear, from documentary evidence, that the ruthless and bloody rebellion which followed in Ireland was secretly encouraged by Charles.† Yet it seems incredible that he could have, in his most evil designs, contemplated a barbarity so horrible as the atrocities committed in 1641. It is, however, probable that, although he never intended the massacre of the Protestants in Ireland, he in his distress relied on the Roman Catholics for re-establishing his power as a king, and this could not possible be effected without destroying the Presbyterians as a political opposition in Ireland.

* Clarendon's History of the Irish Rebellion; Antrim's Information in the Appendix. Strafford's Letters, vol. ii., pp. 300-322.

† Journals, March 12, 1644.

Ormond did not possess the fearless energy nor the fertile genius of Strafford; and Antrim was a weak, restless, and impracticable man, although he appears to have possessed the unlimited confidence of the king.* This nobleman was a Catholic, and so was Sir Phelim O'Nial, to whom Charles gave a commission, which was published with a proclamation in Ireland on the 4th of November, 1641. In this commission the king declares that the storm which then involved England might extend to the kingdom of Ireland. He therefore gave full power to his Catholic subjects to assemble, consult together, and secure such castles and places as might be necessary in regard to their own and the king's safety, excepting such as belonged to his "loving subjects, the Scots," "and to arrest and seize all the goods of English Protestants within that kingdom."†

* Carte, Appendix to vol. ii.

† Rushworth, vol. iv., p. 400. The commission is dated Edinburgh, 1st October, 1641, and is sealed with the great seal of Scotland. It was afterwards argued that this instrument was a forgery; but the assertion has never been proved. The atrocities of the Irish rebellion which followed were so horrible, that all who have cherished sympathy with Charles I. deny that he had any part in its origin. Carte and others affirm that Phelim O'Nial tore the great seal from a patent, which was found a many years afterwards at Charlemont, and on which parchment the fact was endorsed; but Leland, who was also a Royalist, denies the statement. Book v., chap. iii. No one, however, denies that the great seal to O'Nial's commission was that of Scotland. The Scottish seal was never before used for Ireland, although the great seal of England was attached to countless Irish patents. There is certainly some obscurity as to the authenticity of O'Nial's commission; but the evidence is in favour of Charles having sent the document with the seal of Scotland, where he was at the time of its date. See copy of commission in the Appendix. Rapin denies or doubts its authenticity; but his materials for writing the History of the Reign of Charles, were confined to Rushworth, Clarendon, and the partizan writers of the restoration. He never saw Whitelock's valuable facts; nor had he access to numerous state papers and other authorities which I refer to. Hume, who undoubtedly read the commission and proclamation in Rushworth, an author whom he continually quotes, makes no allusion to this infamous commission. Hume, in his History of Charles, is guilty of so many glaring ommissions, that the chapters of that portion of his fascinating

The Royalists afterwards attempted to prove that this commission was forged by O'Nial. It certainly appears to have been used very differently from the intention of Charles, who sought the Irish, as soldiers, to fight his battles, not in their own country, but in England. But the Irish had their own grievances. They had their traditions, in which they boasted of a remote age of learning and civilisation; they were always susceptible of kindness, yet in their enmities fierce, and in their hatreds unforgiving. To those who respected their prejudices, and led them on with confidence, they were both affectionate and faithful. They were oppressed and treated with contumely by the English, and it was natural that the Irish detested the religion of their oppressors. Further, they were under the arbitrary guidance of their priests, who were naturally hostile to a religion by whose clergy they were superseded in the revenues of the Irish Catholic Church. Nor must it be forgotten that the Protestants in Ireland, at that period, and long afterwards, were intolerant zealots, who on all occasions insulted the Catholics.

Such were the sentiments and position of the Irish Catholics, after a great portion of their number were, by Strafford, trained to the use of arms and disciplined in the art of war. Instead, therefore, of aiding

volumes ought to be entitled the Eulogium of St. Charles the Martyr. Having examined the evidences and arguments for and against the authenticity of the commission to Phelim O'Nial, I have, without bias, yet reluctantly, concluded that it was executed and sealed on the day dated at Edinburgh by Charles I. Godwin is of the same opinion. Dr. Lingard, a Catholic, believes the commission a forgery, on the same ground that Rapin doubts it, viz: "That it permitted the Catholics to arrest and seize the goods, estates, and persons of English Protestants." These words may have been interpolated.

Charles in his adversity, they naturally seized upon the opportunity to work out their own independence, and to re-establish the Catholic Church, and a Catholic administration, exclusively of any other in Ireland. Their plans were secretly formed. They resolved to exterminate or expel every Englishman or Protestant. There were in the country numerous Irish Catholic officers, who had served in the armies of the continent; and the privates of the lately dispersed army of Strafford, and the forces recruited by Antrim, were all Roman Catholics. In a short time O'Nial embodied 30,000 men. They were ill-armed at first, but in Newry and other garrisons, which surrendered to him, a supply of swords and muskets was obtained. The atrocious massacre which followed we have briefly described in the previous volume. We have given the facts on these best authorities.*

The lords and gentlemen of the Pale, or the descendants of the first English settlers, who were the chief owners of property in the counties of Dublin, Meath, Louth, and Kildare, had long assimilated themselves in their manners, habits, and pursuits, to the natives of Ireland. They were all Roman Catholics; they rejoiced at the success of O'Nial and the rebels, with whom they entered into

* See Reign of Charles I. in vol. i ; Rushworth, pp. 403, 408, 410 416; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, pp. 15, 16, 199; State Papers, vol. ii., p. 134; Sir John Temple's History of the Irish Rebellion, pp. 12, 13, 15, 16 to 21, 35, 36, 40, 41, 46, 60, 83 to 88, 134; ditto, part ii., pp. 6 to 8, 15, 16, 18, 44, 45, 60, 61; Carte, vol. i., pp. 172, 175, 176; Borlase, pp. 25, 30, 32, 33, 37, 175; Leland, book v., chap. iii. Dr. Lingard, one of the most impartial of English historians, endeavours to mitigate the atrocities of the rebellion of 1641, and there is no doubt that they were greatly provoked and exasperated by the Protestants. It is also probable that the numbers who were murdered, or killed fighting, were also exaggerated.

a confederacy; and they were, after the rebellion, closely in communication with the supreme council of Catholics which met at Kilkenny.*

In order to understand the condition of Ireland after the death of Charles I., and when Oliver Cromwell arrived in that kingdom, it is necessary to revert to the intrigues of Charles with the Roman Catholics from the year 1640, until within a short period of his trial. Nor must we overlook the fact that the ruling influence in the parliament of England, in its policy towards Ireland, was an abhorrence of Popery, which was further exasperated by the enormities of the late Irish rebellion. Charles appointed Sydney, Earl of Leicester, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, but he detained that nobleman in England. Leicester was a man of conciliatory temper, sagacity, and good sense, and not easily to be led to commit despotic acts, or to submit to the unfortunate practices of the king, who employed different persons with distinct instructions to carry his measures into effect by corruption and intrigue. He was therefore on these grounds basely kept in England, while the more flexible Ormond continued to administer the government of Ireland as lieutenant general.

* Clarendon, when in exile, lamented this policy. In a letter from Jersey to Sir Edward Nicholas, he says: "I must tell you I care not how little I say in that business of Ireland, since those strange powers and instructions given to your favourite Glamorgan, which appear to me so inexcusable to justice, piety, and prudence." And again he says: "*I fear there is much in that transaction of Ireland, both before and since, that you and I were never thought wise enough to be consulted in.* Oh, Mr. Secretary! those stratagems have given me more sad hours than all the misfortunes of war which have befallen us, and look like the effect of God's anger towards us."—State Papers, No. 2, p. 337. Introduction to the Sidney Letters, p. 133, May 11; Ormond Papers, No. 82; Carte, vol. i., p. 334.

Hating the Presbyterians himself, the king knew that the Irish Catholics hated them still more. He therefore believed that, if he could bring a force of 20,000 to 40,000 of those Catholics, armed and disciplined over to England, he would disperse the Long Parliament; and, aided by the Episcopalians and Catholics in England, that he would utterly destroy the forces and the power of the Puritans and Presbyterians. He indulged in a fatal delusion. But he still persisted in holding a secret correspondence with "The supreme council of the Catholics" at Kilkenny.

In 1642, all the Roman Catholic clergy within the province of the Catholic archbishopric of Armagh were summoned by that prelate to assemble under his jurisdiction. At this assembly it was agreed that a general synod of the Catholic clergy of Ireland should be held at Kilkenny on the 10th of May.† By this famous synod a memorial of grievances was drawn up; a covenant was sworn to for the defence of the Romish Church in Ireland, and of fidelity to the king; and all Catholics were excommunicated who should disregard this covenant, or who should aid the enemies of their religion, hold forcibly any goods or property belonging to Irish or English Catholics, or to friendly or neutral Protestants. The same terrible anathema was extended to all Catholics who, under cover of the war, murdered, wounded, or robbed those not fighting against the king and the Catholics.

By an ordinance of the synod, it was decreed that a provincial council of the clergy and laity should

* Leland; Borlase.

be formed in each of the four provinces of the kingdom, and one general council for all Ireland. This assembly met at Kilkenny in October, and assumed the title of "The Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the rest of the General Assembly." It resolved to send ambassadors to the Emperor of Germany, the Pope, and the King of France and Spain. A standing or supreme council of twenty-four persons was appointed, twelve of whom were to reside always at Kilkenny, invested with full executive authority. This supreme council, with Lord Mountgarret as president, was installed in that town on the 14th of November; while the general assembly ordained twelve magistrates for each county in Ireland, to decide on minor offences and to administer the statutes; and also a council for each province, to administer the law as judges of assize, and to receive appeals from the county councils.* This extraordinary assemblage completed its organisation a little more than a year after the massacre of the Protestants. Without the name, it constituted for some years a real and efficient Irish Catholic parliament.

Ormond, although not yet commissioned as lord-lieutenant, was invested with equal powers as lieutenant-general. He was a Protestant, but his relations and friends were Roman Catholics.† He expressed great horror at the enormities committed by the Irish on the breaking out of the rebellion. His character was respectable, and he was considered popular. He had, however, acted with Antrim, for

* Borlase, Appendix, No. 7 and 8; Belling Vindiciæ, pp. 4-7; Rushworth, vol. v., p. 516.

† Carte, vol. i., p. 33.

the purpose of organising an Irish Roman Catholic army to fight with the Royalists against the parliament of England.*

The Long Parliament sent two of its members—Reynolds and Goodwin—to inquire into the state of Irish affairs at Dublin, along with the lord justices, both of whom were Puritans.† Ormond resolved, however, not to be restrained by the English parliament, and having acquired much strength in Ireland, he, in 1643, sent back the parliamentary commissioners to England; dismissed Parsons, one of the lord justices, and committed him, and the Master of the Rolls, Sir John Temple, with two other officers of state, for alleged offences, which were never prosecuted.‡ "The supreme council of the confederated Catholics in Ireland"§ transmitted from Kilkenny a short petition to the king, professing the allegiance of the Catholics, and requesting a cessation of arms, and that a commissioner might be appointed to receive their complaints and propositions. This profession of loyalty was made after the council had, in fact, assumed sovereign functions, by appointing a general in each province to command the Irish during the war. These generals were Owen O'Neile (or O'Nial), Preston, Barry, Garret, and John Burke. They had each served in foreign armies, and they now returned to command and discipline the Catholics in Ireland.

In accordance with the recommendations of Ormond

* Temple, Part II., p. 12; Carte; Ormond Papers, No. 31, vol. iii., pp. 99 to 136.
† Journals, Sept 7, 10, and 29.
‡ Borlase, pp. 104 to 123; Husbands, p. 341.
§ This was the title which they now assumed.

and Clanricarde, the king issued a commission, dated 16th January, 1643, empowering Ormond to conform to the prayer of the petition of "the Supreme Council." Clanricarde, Roscommon, and others, were accordingly appointed royal commissioners, and in March they held a conference with the Catholics at Trim; while Lords Taffe and Dillon were with the king at Oxford as commissioners from the Irish Catholics. Taffe returned shortly afterwards to Kilkenny with instructions from the king. The Earl of Castlehaven, and Dr. Cale of the Sorbonne, were also engaged in the overtures made by the Irish Catholics to Charles. Cessation of arms was agreed to by the peremptory command of the king to Ormond; to whom all the instructions were then secret, whether despatches, warrants, or commands.* This was absolutely necessary to preserve the loyalty of the Protestants in Ireland, and to deceive the Protestant adherents of the king. But the "*cessation of arms*" was denounced by both houses of the English parliament "as destructive to the Protestant religion, dishonourable to the English nation, prejudicial to the interests of the three kingdoms; and as devised and obtained by Papists for the introduction of Popery, and the extirpation of the Protestant religion."†

Meantime the queen arrived in Yorkshire from Holland. Here she was met by Antrim and Montrose, who proposed that an Irish Catholic army should

* Borlase, p. 45 to 112-114; Rushworth vol. v., p. 350-548; Carte, vol. ii., Appendix, vol. iii., 117 to 174.

† Journals 238, 239. A false and inflammatory declaration was also promulgated at the same time. It set forth that the cessation was perfidiously agreed to without necessity, "at a time when the famine among the Irish had made them unnatural and cannibal-like, eat and feed one upon another."

make a descent upon Scotland. A plan of operations was then sketched out. It was agreed that Montrose and his adherents should immediately proceed to Scotland, and excite the Royalists to take up arms in favour of the king; and that Antrim should proceed without delay to Ireland, in order to induce the Catholics to join Munro, who commanded an army of 10,000 men, and to bribe that commander with the promise of high rank and large sums of money, in the event of success, to invade England; while the disbanded Catholics of Antrim were at the same time to be re-embodied and join Montrose in Scotland.

These intrigues were planned while Charles practised alluring dissimulation, by pretending affection and friendship for the dominant party in his northern kingdom. But this plot was speedily defeated. Antrim had no sooner arrived in Ulster than he was arrested by his ancient enemy Munro. The proposals which he made were not only rejected with scorn, but Antrim was treated as an outlaw and a traitor. On his person were found papers which revealed his joint intrigues with Montrose and the queen. If the king were acquainted, which is probable, with these intrigues, his consent was as criminal as his guilt in executing the commission which he is asserted to have granted to O'Nial.* In Scotland, Montrose was more fortunate, but not successful.

The treaty for the cessation of arms was signed, between Ormond and the commissioners of the su-

* Clarendon, vol. ii,, p. 608; ditto Life, vol. ii., p. 129; Carte, vol. i., p. 310; Husbands, pp. 250, 264, 266, and *ubi supra;* Baillie, vol. i., pp. 364 and 365; Burnet's Own Time, Book First; Memoirs of Hamilton, p. 236.

preme council of Catholics at Siginston, Kildare, on the 15th of September, 1643; and Ormond was soon after appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.*

Five Irish regiments were embarked for England, at Dublin, and five more at the ports of Munster, in November of the same year. But those troops were not all Catholics; they were chiefly British troops, who had been sent, in the language of the time, to Ireland to fight against those "bloodthirsty Papists who had massacred the Protestants;" and they were now brought over to England to fight against their fellow Protestants and the freedom of their own country. They were, however, commanded by Royalist officers, and they fought with bravery until they were utterly discomfited, when most of the privates enlisted in the parliamentary army.†

Among those forces brought from Ireland, it is asserted with truth by Whitelock, that there were a great many of the Irish rebels embodied. Charles had also employed the Irish Catholics under Montrose in Scotland.

But the fact of the king having engaged the Irish Catholics to fight against his Protestant subjects proved disastrous to his cause, and disgusted many of his former loyal friends. Lord Holland declared that his conscience would not give him leave to stay any longer with the royal court at Oxford. Sir Edward Deering, who had deserted the king, stated afterwards, on his examination, that, "beholding so many Irish rebels and Papists in the king's army, and

* Carte, vol. i., pp. 450, 451, and 476.

† Clarendon, vol. iii., p. 456; Birch's Inquiry concerning Glamorgan, p. 4; Borlase, p. 138; Whitelock, p. 75 to 82; Rushwood, vol. v., p. 299 to 302.

knowing that Charles was governed in his councils by the Papists, he could no longer remain with the king, and he came therefore to throw himself upon the mercy of the parliament." In many of the royal regiments the soldiers refused to fight any longer,—threw down their arms, and demanded a composition for their services. "It was observed," says Whitelock, "that the Irish coming over hither never did the king any considerable service, but were cut off, some in one place and some in another, the vengeance of God still following on bloodthirsty men."* The protestation which the king made during the same year on taking the sacrament at Oxford, coupled with his secret intrigues in Ireland, and bringing over the Irish Catholic troops, further alienated from him many of his most sincere Protestant subjects.

The form and words of this protestation were as follows.

The king, being about to receive the sacrament, and rising from his knees and making a sign to the archbishop for a short pause, he said: "My lord, I espy here many resolved Protestants who may declare to the world the resolution I now make. I have, to the utmost of my power, prepared my soul to become a worthy receiver, and may I so receive comfort by the blessed sacrament, as I intend the establishment of the true reformed Protestant religion, as it stood in its beauty in the happy days of Queen Elizabeth, without any connivance at Popery. I bless God, that, in the midst of these public distractions, I have still liberty to communicate. And may this sacra-

* Whitelock, p. 77 to 85.

ment be my damnation, if my heart do not join with my lips in this protestation."*

If Charles was criminal with regard to the cessation of arms in Ireland (September, 1643), in order to bring over the Catholics to fight against the Protestants in England, he was still more wicked in his perfidy with regard to Ormond and the Protestants, by the secret commission which he, on the 1st of April, 1644, granted to the Earl of Glamorgan, to which with his own hand he affixed the great seal. By this commission, Glamorgan was appointed generalissimo of three armies—English, Irish, and foreign, to be raised in Ireland or in countries beyond sea, as well as admiral of the fleet. He was authorised to recommend his own lieutenant-general, and to appoint all subordinate officers; and he was further entrusted with blank patents under the great seal, for granting titles of honour, with the rank of marquis, earl, baron, and baronet. By the same document, the king promised the Princess Elizabeth in marriage to the son of Glamorgan, with a dowry of 300,000*l.*, and the title of Duke of Somerset to himself and his heirs.†

Glamorgan was the eldest son of the Marquis of Worcester, and ancestor of the present Duke of Beaufort. The father and son were bigoted Roman Catholics; and a short time after the battle of Naseby, Charles had spent several weeks, it is said, very pleasantly, with the marquis at Ragland Castle.

* Carte, vol. ii., Appendix, 15; King Charles' works; Speeches, No. 50; Rushworth, vol. v., p. 846. Rapin conjectures that by Popery Charles did not mean the Catholic religion.

† Collins' Peerage. Instead of which he found himself a close prisoner in his old age in the Tower.

Glamorgan, for a long time, had been a particular favourite with the king.* Worcester and his son had also contributed, at various times, more than 200,000*l.* to aid the king in his war against the parliament.

In proof of the crooked policy of Charles with regard to Ireland, it may be remarked that, while Glamorgan possessed this extraordinary commission, he, under a second commission, dated 26th July following, empowered Ormond to negotiate and ratify a peace with the Irish Catholics, the chief condition of which was, that the council of Kilkenny should send 10,000 soldiers over to Great Britain.† Preliminaries were opened at Dublin in September, but in order to procure fuller instructions from the king and his council, the proceedings were adjourned until January and February, 1645. Ormond being a Protestant, enjoyed the full confidence of the king's ablest counsellors; and Charles, impatient at the slow, yet cautious, proceedings of his lieutenant-general, intimated by letter that, as Glamorgan would be on his private business in Ireland, he had instructed him to further the negotiations with the Catholic council at Kilkenny; at the same time requesting the lord-lieutenant to place every confidence in the Catholic earl.‡

Charles soon after commissioned Glamorgan, under

* Birch's Inquiry concerning Glamorgan, p. 350 to 353.

† Carte, vol. i., p. 516.

‡ Hume feigns to believe, in the face of the most undeniable facts of the commissions to Glamorgan, that Charles merely took advantage of the latter proceeding on his private affairs to entrust him with certain powers; but he fails to say that those powers were greater than were ever before given to an ambassador. Both Hume's narrative of this affair, and his vindication of Charles, in a note in the Appendix to his volume, are palpable misrepresentations of facts.

the great seal, to levy troops both in Ireland and in the country beyond sea; to take the command of them, and to appoint all the officers as well as commanders of the forts and towns; and for the exercise of this extra-prerogative, the king promised, on the word of a prince and a Christian, if Glamorgan should exceed that which was warranted by law, he would be supported and protected by all the influence and power of the Crown.*

In the month of March the king granted a third commission, authorising Glamorgan solely to conclude a treaty with the confederate Catholics; and to concede, if found necessary, such plenary terms in favour of the Romish Church "as the lord-lieutenant and the king could not for the present *publicly* acknowledge." In a few days afterwards he attempted to sail for Ireland, but being chased by a parliamentary ship, he was obliged to land, and to seek refuge in Cumberland. He managed, however, after being reprimanded by Charles for delay, to sail again, and he reached Ireland in July. After meeting Ormond and the Irish delegates at Dublin, where nothing was concluded, he immediately repaired to Kilkenny, the seat of the supreme Catholic council or government. There, on the 25th of August, he signed a treaty, in which he conceded all the points, in regard to the Romish Church, which Ormond and the king's council refused, including a repeal of all the penal statutes, and restoring to the Catholics all the churches which they had held at any period after the beginning of the late rebellion; upon which they agreed to embody 10,000 troops, to be placed under

* See note, Appendix.

the command of Glamorgan, and to be at his pleasure conveyed from any part of Ireland over to Great Britain.*

But this treaty was frustrated in its immediate object by the interference of Rinuccini, the Pope's *nuncio*, a bigoted and crafty Italian, who planned the complete independence of the Irish Roman Catholic hierarchy, free of any control whatever by the King of England; and he laid it down as a *sine quo non*, or absolute condition, that the Catholic Church should own no supremacy but that of the holy father at Rome. Accordingly, in the month of December, he persuaded Glamorgan to sign an engagement pledging the king, after the landing of 10,000 men in England, never in future to appoint any one as lord-lieutenant in Ireland except a Roman Catholic; to permit the Romish bishops to sit in parliament; to leave the universities and schools of the Catholics to the control of their own Church; and, to allow the council of Kilkenny to exercise supreme authority over Ireland, until all the private articles in this treaty were ratified by the king: it being understood that 3000 troops would immediately embark and join his majesty's forces in England.†

These disgraceful and secret proceedings were arrested by the sudden arrival at Dublin of the Earl of Digby, one of the king's secretaries of state.‡

* Carte, vol. i., p. 520 to 554; vol. ii., Appendix, No. 13.; Birch, p. 18 to 20, and pp. 56, 61, 62, and 350 to 353; Rushworth, vol. vi., pp. 242, 243.

† Carte's Ormond, p. 552 to 561. Nunziatura di Gio. Batista Rinuccini, in Irlanda negli anni 1645-49; con Documenti illustrativi per cura di G. Aiazza. 8vo. Firenze, 1844. See note, Appendix.

‡ On the 22nd of December, 1645.

Documents, which revealed those secrets, were found some time before on the person of the Archbishop of Tuam, who was slain in a skirmish with the Protestants. A copy of those papers was confidentially given to Ormond or to Digby, by which the latter discovered, that while the English council of the king—and of which he was a leading member—adopted, and were carrying out measures respecting the affairs and administration of Ireland, the king secretly directed the intrigues which were conducted by Glamorgan, and which he knew would elicit unanimous condemnation from all Protestants, whether of the Established Church, Presbyterians, or other dissenting bodies. Ormond was, or pretended to be, of the same opinion, and accordingly, on the motion of Digby, in the privy council, Glamorgan, who had been invited to Dublin a few days before, was instantly arrested on suspicion of high treason; and, in order to exculpate the king before all his Protestant subjects, Digby, although satisfied of his guilt, declared that the documents which he produced, and upon which Glamorgan acted, must have been forged, as his majesty, even to redeem his crown, his life, and the lives of his queen and family, would not have assented to a treaty which conceded to the confederated Roman Catholics both his regality and the Protestant religion. Glamorgan was confined as a prisoner in the castle; but at the end of three weeks he was set at liberty on his own security, and that of the Earls of Clanricarde and Kildare.

In consequence of these proceedings, the intrigues of Charles to bring over the forces which he had ex-

pected from Ireland were unsuccessful; and the nuncio urged the council of Kilkenny to take the field and besiege Dublin, in order to rescue Glamorgan. But that nobleman appearing soon after among the general assembly of deputies at Kilkenny, the proposals of the nuncio were abandoned.

Charles, on receiving from Ormond and Digby information respecting the imprisonment of Glamorgan, wrote them a reply, in which he pretended "extraordinary amazement at the folly and presumption of any man who should abuse his trust how little so ever; thanking those noblemen for their affection and zeal in his service; and vindicating his honour by their proceedings against the said earl."* Besides which, he wrote Ormond a private letter, assuring him, "on the word of a Christian, that he never intended that Glamorgan should treat with the Catholics without his approbation, much less without his knowledge; that he had been always diffident as to his judgment, although he could not think him so extremely weak as now to his cost he had found."†

A few days afterwards the king wrote a letter to Glamorgan, expressed in terms of severe reprobation; and it was forwarded to him, open, through Lords Ormond and Digby. It is scarcely possible

* See notes and proofs of the intrigues of Charles with the Irish Catholics in the Appendix.

† This letter concludes: "Albeit, I have too great cause concerning my honour to command you as I have done, to prosecute Glamorgan in a legal way; but I will have you suspend any sentence against him, until I am fully persuaded of all proceedings, as I believe it was his misguided zeal, more than any malice, which brought this great misfortune on him, and on us all."—Carte, vol. iii., p. 425; vol. ii., Appendix, No. 23.

to discover a more daring specimen of dissimulation than is revealed by this epistle. But Glamorgan understood the king too well not to comprehend that this letter was drawn up for the purpose of deceiving the Protestants and Digby, for it is certain that Charles wrote him privately in February, and afterwards in April and July, letters of consolation.* The king, at the same time, addressed a message to both houses of parliament, declaring the conduct of Glamorgan to be highly derogatory to his dignity, and most prejudicial to the Protestant religion and Church; but he protested that the whole truth of the business was, that Glamorgan had received a permission to raise troops in Ireland, and for no other purpose. In the same message the king offered many concessions to the parliament.† There is, however, sufficient evidence that Glamorgan not only communicated his commission and most of the king's views to Ormond, but that the latter was fully apprised of the proceedings at Kilkenny. So that the king, Ormond, and Glamorgan, were all guilty of dissimulation; and it would appear that they had consented, in the event of necessity, to allow the king to deny all, or any, of his instructions or commissions to them. The imprisonment of Glamorgan and the letters of Charles were mockeries well understood by all the parties, as formalities to deceive the parliament and the Protestants.‡

From this time forward the king appears to have given little attention to the affairs of Ireland, beyond

* Birch, pp. 356, 359, 361, 244.
† Journals of the Lords, January 31, 1646.
‡ See notes and proofs, Appendix.

his endeavours to bring troops over from that country, in which he received the co-operation both of Ormond and Digby; who, when they found his affairs becoming desperate, entered without reserve into his views; and they now considered Glamorgan by far the most efficient agent for carrying out that object. Accordingly, we find Ormond, in February, 1646, writing him as follows:—"My affections and interests are so much tied to his majesty's cause, that it was madness in me to disgust any man who has power and inclination to relieve him in the sad condition he is in; and therefore your lordship may securely go on in the ways you have proposed to yourself, without more interruption, or so much as an inquiry into the means you work by."* On the 28th of March following, Ormond ratified a treaty of peace with the supreme government at Kilkenny, by which it was stipulated that 6000 men should be transported by that government to England or Wales on the 1st of April, and 4000 more a month afterwards; the treaty to be lodged in the hands of the Marquis of Clanricarde until these forces had embarked for England.† But events soon frustrated the provisions of this treaty.

We unfortunately find in the lives of many public men, that they have frequently acted more in accordance with their passions and interests, than from the influence of virtue and conscientious principle. The history of Ireland abounds with examples of this melancholy fact.

An Irish nobleman—Lord Inchiquin—requested,

* Carte, vol. iii., 428.
† *Ibid.*, 566; Birch, 200, 214-215; Castlehaven's Memoirs, p. 79.

in 1644, the office of president of the province of Munster: he was refused that appointment by Charles. He considered this a personal affront; and the same year he induced Lord Broghil, and several other leading men, to join him in offering their services to the parliament, which soon after invested him with the authority that was refused by the king. Another of his associates—Sir Charles Coote—was also a disappointed man; he deserted the royal cause, and received from the parliament the presidency of Connaught. He reduced Sligo in 1644, and afterwards defended it against the Catholics, who were repulsed, and the Archbishop of Tuam killed in the onslaught. This prelate was a member of the supreme council of Kilkenny, and on his person were found the papers which revealed the treachery of the king, in his secret instructions to the Earl of Glamorgan.* These were immediately transmitted to the commissioners of the parliament, who had arrived in Dublin with succour to the Protestants of Ulster; and those papers, after being carefully examined, were sent without delay to the parliament at Westminster.†

The affairs of Ireland had not only been precipitated by the intrigues of Charles with the nuncio, through Glamorgan, but the treaty which the Marquis of Ormond had concluded with the Catholics in March, 1646, was disregarded, while the secret articles arranged by Glamorgan with the Roman Catholic council at Kilkenny were frustrated by the intrigues of

* Carte's Ormond, 587 to 593; Borlase, 146; Journals of Commons, January 14 and April 29, and of Lords, May 3, 1645; Journal of Commons, January 16, 1646.

† Journals of Commons, Nov. 12, 1645; January 11-25, 1646.

the nuncio. This Italian bigot determined to rule over the Irish Catholics, and the whole country, under the supremacy of the Pope alone, and under the protection of the King of Spain, or some other Popish sovereign. By the authority of the supreme council of Kilkenny, and his own influence, he levied and embodied a formidable army of horse and foot, commanded by General Preston; and he reduced Ormond to the alternative of yielding to the Catholics or to the Long Parliament.* Ormond wisely chose the latter.†

Lord Lisle was appointed lieutenant for Ireland, to which country he embarked with his brother Algernon Sidney, George Monk, Thomas Harrison, and some other distinguished officers. But the treachery of Inchiquin baffled all the plans of Lisle; and he soon afterwards returned to England. Skippon was appointed commander-in-chief and field-marshal in Ireland; and Algernon Sidney governor of Dublin; but the latter was supplanted by one of the parliamentary officers, Colonel Jones, who completely defeated the Irish forces, commanded by Preston, at Dungannon Hill, near Dublin, on the 8th of August. Inchiquin, who commanded the Presbyterians, recaptured Cahir and Cashel, and defeated the army of Lord Taffe near Clontarf.‡

* Rinuccini's Memoirs; Birch, 200 to 215.

† Journals of the Lords, October 13 and 15.

‡ Journals of Commons, April 8; Leicester's Journal, pp. 13, 14, 17; Rushworth, p. 779 to 916; Carte, vol. ii., p. 4 to 9. "In the battle of Dungannon Hill, the Irish cavalry fled on their commander being slain. The infantry retreated to a bog, and offered to capitulate. Colonel Flower, who was in advance, said he had no orders to grant them quarter, but he ordered his troops to stand on their arms, and saved Lord Westmeath and several officers and men who came to his quarters. But it is alleged that, in the mean time, the Scotch colonel, Tichburn,

But the nuncio still exercised a dangerous authority; and Inchiquin, who had secretly become a Royalist, betrayed the cause of the parliament. Monk, who enjoyed the confidence of Cromwell, was appointed commander-in-chief of Ulster, where he took the command early in 1648, surprised the Scottish garrisons at Belfast, Carrickfergus, and Coleraine, and making the veteran Monro a prisoner, sent him to England.* Colonel Jones commanded in Leinster, where he had great difficulties to contend with, from the disaffection of his troops; and he was compelled to seize upon Sir Maurice Eustace, the Speaker of the Irish House of Commons, and several of the officers of the army of Leinster, and to send them prisoners to England. Inchiquin, in his course of treachery, now concluded a secret treaty of amity with the supreme council at Kilkenny.†

The forces of the nuncio in Ulster were commanded by Owen Roe O'Nial, or O'Neal, an officer of great military skill, who had served in Spain, and with whom Jones and Monk were compelled to enter into a truce. Inchiquin had at the same time entered into an armistice with the Catholic council at Kilkenny. The nuncio commanded the council to renounce this treaty; but that assembly, with fourteen bishops, disregarded his spiritual denunciations. Lords Clanricarde and Taffe, and General Preston,

and Colonel Moor, of Bankhall's regiment, without mercy put the rest to the sword."—Belling, MS. 11, p. 95.

* Journals, July 16, Sept. 28, Oct. 7, 1648; Carte, p. 11; Gumble's Life of Monk, pp. 27, 28; Skinner's Monk, ch. iii.

† Carte, p. 33 to 39; Journals of the Commons, July 6 to Oct. 2; Whitelock, Oct. 27, Jan. 25, March 9.

would not receive his agents. He then summoned a synod at Galway; but that town was invested by, and surrendered to, Clanricarde, early in September, 1648. O'Nial, however, fought for the nuncio, against Inchiquin and Preston, and the new council of Kilkenny. Towns were taken and abandoned; several battles were fought, and O'Nial was proclaimed a traitor and rebel by the council, and the nuncio was ordered to leave the kingdom, under charges of high crimes, preferred by the council against him to the Pope.

He, however, continued to disregard the threats of the council, and to inflame the Irish, until after the death of the king, when he fled to France: from whence he was recalled to Rome. A great share of the blood shed in Ireland must be attributed to the passions and the bigotry which were excited by this mischievous priest. The treaty of peace with Inchiquin was strongly opposed by the nuncio, by whom, and eight leading Catholic bishops, he was cursed as a traitor who had delighted in shedding Irish blood, and whose interest alone was his conscience. Rinuccini then fled from Kilkenny,—joined O'Nial at Maryborough,—excommunicated all who were concerned in negotiating the treaty, or who obeyed its stipulations,—and he placed all the towns who submitted to its provisions under an interdict. Ormond landed in Ireland in the end of September, 1648, where he was joined by Inchiquin; and he ratified a treaty with the newly-elected Roman Catholic council at Kilkenny, which embraced all the articles formerly granted by Glamorgan, and which, among other concessions, agreed to recognise

twelve of their commissioners, who were appointed by the general assembly to act in concert with the lord-lieutenant until a free Irish parliament could be convened.* This was almost the last act concluded in the name of Charles I. Yet his arms were then powerful in Ireland, and his fleet, commanded by Rupert, scoured the coast. The parliamentary generals, Jones, Monk, and Coote, were confined to Dublin, Belfast, and Londonderry. It is difficult to say how far his fortunes might have been changed, if he had been able to have followed the advice of Ormond to leave England, and to take the command in person of his forces in Ireland.

Intelligence arrived in Dublin soon after of the execution of the king; and Ormond proclaimed Charles II., King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland; invited that prince immediately over to Ireland, and wrote that three-fourths of the Irish were ready to receive him with loyalty, and to fight religiously for his cause.†

O'Nial, after the flight of Rinuccini, was refused the command of 6000 foot, with a corresponding body of cavalry, to fight for the king, and deprived of his garrisons of Maryborough and Athy by the forces under Castlehaven. He then made overtures to the parliament, which were immediately accepted

* Whitelock, p. 391. The king highly approved of this treaty, in which were also stipulations for removing restrictions on Irish trade. —Carte's letter, iii., p. 367; Walsh, app. 43, 64; Carte, p. 42 to 45. This council was elected the 4th January, 1648. It deputed the Marquis of Antrim, Lord Muskerry, and Geofrey Brown, to go and ask assistance from Queen Henrietta for aid in money.—Castlehaven, Mem., 831.

† Clarendon's Historical View, pp. 95, 96; Milton's Prose Works, with a copy of the treaty; Carte, p. 62.

by Jones and Monk. Were it not for these acts of folly on the part of the king's lieutenant and the Catholics, Ormond might have vanquished the whole power of the parliament in Ireland before the arrival of Cromwell. An attempt had been, in the mean time, made to reconcile the Catholics to the Commonwealth, through the agency of Sir Kenelm Digby, the Abbé Montague, and Sir John Winter, who were allowed to return to England, under the pretence of compounding for their estates. This attempt was impracticable, and ended by passing votes against Digby, Montague, and Winter, and for arresting priests and Jesuits.* Monk at the same time lost Belfast, Carrickfergus, and Coleraine, through a revolt of his troops; while another parliamentary officer, Coote, was besieged in Derry by a division of the Scottish forces.† In June, 1649, Ormond captured Kildare, Drogheda, and Dundalk; and Dublin and Derry alone held out for the parliament, when Cromwell's advance guard, commanded by Venables and Reynolds, had landed in Dublin Bay.‡ Jones, who commanded in Dublin, sallied forth and defeated the royal army at Rathmines, under Ormond, who retreated to Kilkenny. This was a desperately-fought battle. Ormond was surprised while asleep, his regiments were put to route with great slaughter, 2000

* Journals, Aug. 31; Carte's Letters, i., p. 216 to 272; ii., 363; Walker, ii., 150.

† Carte, p. 60 to 77; Skinner's Life of Monk, c. iii., § 3. The alliance with O'Nial was deprecated by the Puritan army as an act of apostacy. Monk was hypocritically reprimanded by the parliament, and the agreement annulled; and Peters, from the pulpit, defended the *grandees* of the Commonwealth, and promised that the duty of revenge upon the Catholics should be inflicted.—Whitelock, 416; Leicester, 82; Walker, ii., 230, 243.

‡ Clarendon's Irish Rebellion, 114 to 119; Carte, 78.

were made prisoners—300 of whom were cruelly slaughtered at the gates of Dublin—and all the artillery, ammunition, baggage, and tents were taken. In consequence of this great victory, Jones was made lieutenant-general instead of Ireton, who was persuaded by Cromwell to accept the rank of major-general of the Irish army.*

On the 10th of July, 1649, Oliver Cromwell, as lieutenant-general, and as general governor of Ireland, left London for that country in a coach drawn by six whitish grey Flanders mares, accompanied by many other carriages, with numerous officers, and a life-guard of eighty persons in splendid uniforms, several of whom were colonels, majors, and esquires.†

He landed on the 15th of August;‡ and he fully understood the enemy whom he had to conquer. The Irish were bigoted, ignorant, brave, and rash. But in Ireland he had also to contend against English and Scotch foes; the former were disciplined opponents, and the latter were still more so by officers of military skill. The Irish were the chief and the rightful possessors of the soil; and they fought for their lands and religion with savage, but not skilful ferocity. In England, Cromwell was distinguished for his merciful disposition and kindness of heart towards those over whom he was victorious in battle. His name, however, was at the same time dreaded; and Charles II. refused to sail for Ireland the moment he heard that Cromwell was selected to terminate the

* Journals, July 9; Whitelock, Aug. 11; Clarendon's Irish Rebellion, 123 to 128; Carte, 79 to 81; Letters, 383 to 413.

† Cromwelliana, p. 72; Journals, June 22-25; Whitelock, 389 to 392, 413; Leicester's Journal, 76.,

‡ Whitelock, Aug. 21; Carte, p. 83.

Irish war. The new lord-general decided that the authority of his name should not lose its prestige; nor his first act inspire the Irish with the hope that he should leave them any remnant of independent power. He considered that a protracted civil war would be attended with far greater cruelty than if the country were brought speedily to obedience by a vigorous and merciless campaign; and he determined that he would, in a few months, reduce all Ireland to peace and to a perfect submission to the English parliament. But whether he was influenced by philosophical considerations, or whether he perpetrated the barbarities which he had resorted to from horror of the Papal spirit, and of the atrocities committed during the late rebellion by the Irish, it is difficult to pronounce a judgment. With an army of ten thousand men he laid siege to Drogheda, which was garrisoned by two or three thousand of the best troops that Ormond was able to provide, and in whose ability to defend the place he had every confidence, until he could bring a greater force to its relief.* He little knew the military skill and resources of the lord-general. Cromwell at once erected his batteries, and summoned the governor to surrender—but which summons, however, was rejected. A breach was effected next day, the 10th of September. Cromwell's forces were twice driven back with great bravery by the Irish; but he, leading them personally in the third assault, speedily effected an entrance through the walls. The enemy fought desperately within three entrench-

* Cox's History of Ireland, part ii., p. 8; Clarendon's Historical View, p. 120 to 130.

ments, and at the corner of every street. He ordered no quarter to be given, as the defence had been useless.* One hundred and forty soldiers retreated to a tower, and refused, when summoned, to yield; he ordered the officers to be executed, the privates to be decimated, and the remainder to be shipped to the West Indies. He called the victory "a marvellous great mercy," while he acknowledged that these barbarities had filled the enemy with much terror, and that he was persuaded "the bitterness used on the present occasion would hereafter prevent much effusion of blood; which is the only satisfactory ground for such actions, which otherwise could not but produce remorse and regret."†.

The forces in Dundalk and Trim, on hearing of the fall of Drogheda, fled from their garrisons. To reason on the conduct of Cromwell, with regard to the storming and the slaughter of Drogheda, where the governor, Sir Anthony Aston, and most of those who defended its walls, fell in the havoc, will always remain a question of difficulty; but, considering the condition of Ireland at that period, we can scarcely doubt but that an infinitely greater quantity of blood would have been shed if, on the contrary, he had

* Dr. Lingard asserts that quarter was first offered and accepted, but that "the pledge was violated—that a general massacre was ordered or tolerated by Cromwell. During five days the streets of Drogheda ran with blood. Revenge and fanaticism stimulated the passions of the soldiers. From the garrison they turned their swords against the inhabitants, and one thousand unresisting victims were immolated together within the walls of the great church, whither they had fled for protection. From Drogheda the conqueror led his men, fleshed (? flushed) with slaughter, to the siege of Wexford."—Hist. England, vol. xi., pp. 38, 39. Hora-Philop. Renacus, i., 120; Carte; Whitelock, 428.

† Whitelock, September 29, October 1 and 2; Parliamentary History, vol. xix., p. 201 to 207, in which are Cromwell's despatches.

pursued a mild and merciful policy, and permitted a procrastinating war. It is not probable that the Roman Catholics would have ever submitted to the Commonwealth so long as they dared or were able to resist; and they had massacred, in cold blood, only a few years before, possibly ten times the number who fell during the short war waged by Oliver Cromwell in conquering Ireland; and which certainly, for several years, secured tranquillity to that generally distracted land. But the human heart, unless familiar with bloodshed, revolts with horror at the idea of the gallant defenders of a besieged town receiving no quarter. In its most civilised form war must ever be attended with atrocities; and of all wars, those, in which religious zeal and bigotry inspire and madden the combatants, have ever been the most terrible. Cromwell's conquest of Ireland was, therefore, barbarous and revolting, though not unmixed with some generous and equitable acts.

Immediately after the storming of Drogheda, Cromwell issued a proclamation, prohibiting his soldiers, under pain of death, from doing any injury to the inhabitants, and commanding them to take no article for which they did not pay; and he further declared that every one might worship according to his own religion with toleration."*

* Carte, p. 90, 116, *et pass.* It would appear that this only extended to their not being called on to recant their religion, but did not include the celebration of mass.— Ludlow, vol. i., p. 253-270; Leland's History of Ireland, vol. iii., p. 349-363; Whitelock, 411-430, *et pass.* Clarendon (History of the Rebellion, vol. iii., p. 341) says: "The whole army having entered the town, they executed all manner of cruelty, and put all the citizens who were Irish, man, woman, and child, to the sword." He has no authorities for this assertion, nor does he make the sweeping charge against Cromwell in his Historical View, which was written under the revision of the Mar-

Arklow, Fernes, and Enniscorthy, surrendered at once, and their inhabitants were not disturbed. Ormond, however, unfortunately prevailed on the city of Wexford to receive, for its defence, a small garrison—all Catholics,—for all others were refused admission. Cromwell summoned the place to surrender —the garrison refused—but the governor of the castle, which commanded the town at a small distance, capitulated, and the lord-general ordered his soldiers to scale the walls. They entered the town, and after a desperate resistance in the market-place on the part of the Catholic troops, they met the same fate as the defenders of Drogheda. Cromwell estimates that 2000 of their number were slain, while he did not lose twenty men.* He then marched against Ross, into which Ormond and Inchiquin had thrown 1500 men, in addition to 1000 already there under Lord Taffe, the governor. The latter, however, surrendered, on condition that the troops would be allowed to march out with their baggage, arms, drums, and colours.* O'Nial, the commander of the Catholics,

quis of Ormond. None of the communications to parliament mention that any one was put to death who was not found in arms at Drogheda; and the silence of other credible and competent authorities, especially Castlehaven (Memoirs, 79-81), justify our disbelief in the general slaughter. Cromwell admits the slaughter of those who fled to the church, according to Whitelock, 428. The military chaplain, Hugh Peters, it is true, writes, barbarously: "Sir, the truth is, Drogheda is taken, 3352 of the enemy slain, and sixty-three of ours; Aston, the governor, killed; none spared. We have all Trim and Dundalk, and are marching to Kilkenny. I come now from giving thanks in the great church. We have all our army well landed. I am yours, Hugh Peters. Dublin, September 15." Peters was Cromwell's chaplain. He "arrived at Dublin, and at the beginning of the troubles in Ireland had a brigade against the rebels. and came off with honour and victory."—Whitelock, 410, 411.

* Journals, October 30, 1649; Carte, p. 93. "This," said Cromwell, in his despatch, "is not without cause deeply set in our hearts, we having intended better to this place than so great a ruin."—Cromwelliana, p. 55.

† Cromwelliana, p. 67 to 69; Perfect Politician, p. 57.

having fought bravely for the parliament, in disgust with intolerance joined Ormond, which terminated also a cessation entered into between that officer and Monk,† and which the parliament had a little before passed a vote to annul.‡ He died of a painful illness, in the county of Cavan, on his march from Londonderry to join the royal army; but his forces joined Ormond.

Newry, Dromore, Lisburn, and Belfast, were reduced by Cromwell's lieutenants, Venables and Sir Charles Coote. Lord Broghil, whom Cromwell had formerly, under remarkable circumstances, prevented from joining Charles Stuart on the Continent, and induced to join him against the Irish Catholics, landed at Wexford in the end of October, and rendered great services to the lord-general.§ Cork, Youghall, Bandon Bridge, and Kinsale were,—partly by the terror of Cromwell's name, and partly by the influence or seduction of Lord Broghil—induced to open their gates, and thereby saved the lives of their citizens. But Cromwell was obliged to raise the sieges of Waterford and Duncannon, at the same time that he lost his able lieutenant-general, Michael Jones, by sickness, at Dungarvan, which had surrendered to him.‖ He then allowed his troops to

* Journals; Cromwelliana, p. 67 to 69.

† Journals; Carte, p. 83.

‡ Cromwelliana, p. 74; Parliamentary History, vol. xii. Cromwell's despatches from Ireland, with the exception of occasional canting phrases, are written with great sagacity and judgment.

§ Carte, p. 102; Morrice's Life of Orrery, &c. Cromwell, in a despatch, expresses himself with regard to the loss of General Jones, as follows: "The noble lieutenant-general, whose finger, to our knowledge, never ached in all these expeditions, fell sick, upon a cold taken in our late wet march and ill-accommodation, and went to Dungarvan, where, struggling some four or five days with a fever, he died, having run his

go into winter quarters for two months. On the 29th of January he marched from Youghall to Fethard, which surrendered; and he ordered Lord Broghil to capture a castle in the county of Limerick, which at first refused, but afterwards surrendered. The borough town of Callen, with its three castles, were stormed; one surrendered without resistance, while of those who defended the other two, one hundred men were killed. The town of Gowran refused to surrender; but the soldiers beat a parley, and in consequence their lives were spared, while the officers were all put to death. Cromwell then marched against Kilkenny,* the metropolitan seat of the Roman Catholic government, and of its council. It surrendered at once on the 28th of March.

The last victory gained personally by Cromwell was at the town of Clonmel, which was defended by a son of Owen Roe O'Nial, and in which Ormond, Castlehaven, and the Irish leaders, endeavoured to make a last stand. But Lord Roche and the Catholic Bishop of Ross advancing on the one side, were defeated by Broghil; 700 of their men killed and twenty of their officers made prisoners. Among the latter was the bishop, who, on account of his former atrocities and sanguinary counsels, was hanged in face of the neighbouring castle, which was garrisoned by his followers. The castles immediately surrendered.† All the defenders of Clon-

course with so much honour, courage, and fidelity, as his actions better speak than my pen. What England lost hereby is above me to speak. I am sure I lost a noble friend and companion in labours. You see how God mingles out the cup to us."

* Whitelock, February 25; Journals; Cromwelliana, p. 75 to 79.

† Journals and Whitelock, May 25, 1650; Perfect Politician, p. 68; Carte, 115.

mel were Catholics from the province of Ulster, and their resistance was desperate. Cromwell intended to reduce the besieged by famine; but being recalled to England, he decided upon storming the town. On the 9th of May he effected a breach in the walls, and he ordered his troops to enter. They were once driven back; but at night the town beat a parley, and Cromwell agreed to honourable terms. Hugh O'Nial and the garrison, however, withdrew secretly, as soon as the fight was over, and before the parley commenced.*

Cromwell then left for England. He granted permission to the Catholics, who were engaged in the rebellion, to enlist in foreign service, and it has been computed that 45,000 Irish Catholics in consequence entered the service of France or Spain. He was impressed with the conviction that the Irish Papists were, while they adhered to the Romish creed, unfit for freedom and civilisation; and he considered that their conversion, or banishment out of the other provinces into Connaught, was absolutely necessary for the tranquillity of Ireland. Ireton was appointed lord-deputy by Cromwell, and lord-president of the province of Munster, of which Cooke, the former solicitor of the Commonwealth, was appointed chief justice.†

* Whitelock, May 28; Ludlow, p. 307; Perfect Politician, pp. 70, 71; Cromwelliana, p. 81. An eminent commander who assisted in the action, reported: "We found in Clonmel the stoutest enemy that our army has encountered in Ireland; and it is my opinion, and that of many more, that no storm of so long continuance, and so gallantly contended, has been seen in these wars, either in England or Ireland."—Godwin.

† Journals, Oct. 30; Whitelock, Oct. 9 to June, 1650; Ludlow, pp. 307, 310; Perfect Politician, No. 57, *et seq.*; Carte, p. 83, *et seq.*; Cromwelliana, No. 55, *et seq.*; Orrery State Letters—Morrice's Life of Orrery prefixed.

When Cromwell sailed from Ireland, the Roman Catholics of Connaught were still to be conquered, and they had also to be dislodged from Limerick, Duncannon, Waterford, Carlow, Nenagh, and a few other places, which they held in their possession. Ireton was for a little time deceived by the intrigues of Inchiquin; and Ormond, on being obliged to withdraw or rather to fly from Ireland in the month of December, 1650, authorised the Marquis of Clanricarde to hold office in his stead, as lord-lieutenant of Charles II.*

Before the close of this year, Waterford, Carlow, Duncannon, Nenagh, and a few minor places were reduced by Ireton.†

In Ulster, of which Sir Charles Coote was president, Macmahon, Bishop of Clogher, became, after the death of O'Nial, the leader of the Catholics of that province. He had saved Coote the previous year from being destroyed at Derry, where he was besieged by O'Nial.‡ But such was the cruelty or savage bigotry of Coote, that, on his defeating Macmahon, and routing the whole of the Catholic forces, he, on taking their general, the bishop, prisoner, immediately executed him on a gibbet.§ Clanricarde, with a force of 4000 men, was compelled by Axtel to retreat to an island nearly surrounded by the Shannon and a deep bog, where he took his stand, well sheltered by entrenchments, and strongly fortified. But those defences were speedily forced by the dauntless intrepidity of Axtel

* Clarendon's History of the Irish Rebellion, p. 255.
† Whitelock, July 10, August 27, November 26; Ludlow, pp. 323, 324.
‡ Carte, p. 77; Clarendon's History of the Irish Rebellion, p. 118.
§ Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, pp. 185, 186.

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and his troops. He gained the island, and compelled the half at least of Clanricarde's army to plunge into the Shannon, leaving behind them their provisions, ammunition, and stores.*

Limerick was now the only stronghold of importance which remained unconquered. This city was powerfully garrisoned, and abundantly supplied with artillery, fire-arms, ammunition, and provisions.† The last hopes of the Royalists and Catholics were centred in the defences of Limerick; the forces being under the command of Hugh O'Nial, nephew to old Owen O'Nial, who died two years before. The head-quarters of Ireton's army was stationed at Kilkenny; the division under Coote in Ulster; and the forces under Lord Broghil in Munster. Early in spring, Ireton ordered that the troops under each commander should converge towards Limerick. Coote entered Connaught by Ballyshannon, and reduced Portumna, where his progress was unsuccessfully opposed by Clanricarde and the Earl of Castlehaven. Ireton, with the main division, forced the passage of the Shannon near Kilaloe.‡ He then, in the month of June, invited the garrison of Limerick to surrender; but, encouraged by the reports of the successes of Charles II. in Scotland, O'Nial, instead of a compliance, proposed terms of capitulation. These, however, were considered inadmissible by the lord-deputy; and Limerick, therefore, was regularly besieged. Ireton erected fortifications, and constructed bridges with extraordinary celerity, and so substantial, and in such a commanding position, as to render all supplies as

* Whitelock, Nov. 26; Heath, p. 277. † Whitelock, Nov. 28.
‡ Ludlow, p. 343 to 350; Whitelock, June 16 and 20.

well as relief to the garrison of Limerick hopeless. The forces under Muskerry were totally defeated near the Blackwater by Lord Broghil; and Lieutenant-General Ludlow laid waste most parts of Clare. Meantime, several of the armed ships of the parliament ascended the Shannon. Limerick still refused to surrender on the terms offered by Ireton, and he therefore determined to carry the place by storm. He landed the great guns of the ships of war, and mounted them, with the artillery which he had carried overland, on a commanding battery. He speedily made a breach in the walls; by which time the inhabitants compelled O'Nial to surrender by a treaty, which was countersigned, on the 27th of October.*

Ireton was generally considered a merciful general; but it appears to have been the rule of military warfare with the commanders of the parliamentary army, that when garrisons held out longer than resistance was considered hopeless of relief, those who commanded, or who were the abettors of the forlorn siege, should be selected as victims for punishment. On the surrender of Limerick, the lives of the inhabitants and of the private soldiers were spared; but twenty-two leading persons were excepted, and among these were the Catholic bishop, a friar named Wolf, the mayor of the city, Purcell the deputy-governor of the city, and Sir Jeffery Barrow, who were shot by order of a court-martial. The governor, Hugh O'Nial, pleaded that he was prevented from surrendering in due time by the bishop, mayor, deputy-governor, and others;

* Ireton's Despatches; Ludlow, p. 355 to 368; Whitelock, July 14, August 9, 11; Journals, November 28.

and on this plea Ireton spared his life. The town of Galway, in Connaught, which still held out, was besieged by Coote, but, by the consent of Ireton, that general and his forces retired soon after to winter quarters. The lord-deputy, who had scarcely taken rest since the commencement of the siege of Limerick, had now determined to visit different places, in order to prevent any relief being thrown into Galway during winter; but he caught a severe cold, and was attacked immediately after by a fever, or plague, which raged in Limerick, and was carried off on the 27th of November.*

The character of Ireton has been vilely tarnished by the Royalists; but historians of the age in which he lived, and of succeeding periods down to the present time, have done him justice. He was hated by Lord Broghil, who describes him as "cruel and revengeful;" and he is also calumniated by Sir Philip Warwick.† But Ireton was brave, prudent, and remarkably cautious, at the same time that he was as fearless of death as Cromwell; but his genius was not so fertile, nor was he gifted with the tremendous sublimity of Cromwell's actions, in the face or amidst the most formidable perils. Ireton was a successful general; because his plans were always judiciously arranged, and he never attempted anything that was not practicable with the means in his power: for terrible occasions he was inferior to the lord-general. When Axtel, one of the most brave and dexterous of Ireton's generals, was accused of putting the defenders of a post to death after as-

* Whitelock, Dec. 8; Ludlow, pp. 376, 380, 382.
† Morrice's Life of Orrery; Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs.

suring them of quarter, Axtel justified this cruelty by alleging that the Irish deserved no mercy, for they never granted any. But on its being proved that the enemy had understood they were to receive quarter on surrendering, Ireton preferred the charge before a council of war, and Axtel was suspended and sent to England.* A boat on the Shannon, which was filled with soldiers, surrendered to Colonel Tothil, who ordered several of them to be put to death. The colonel was in consequence cashiered by Ireton. He spared the life of Lady Honoria O'Brien, who had, under his immediate guardianship, used her position to aid the enemy with respect to their goods and cattle; yet, on discovering the fact, the lord-deputy still gave orders that she should be protected. Ireton in many respects was better adapted for civil administration than for a supreme military command. Whitelock censures him for his pragmatical and pertinacious opinions; while he records the kindness of his disposition and the tenderness of his heart.† Cooke, the chief justice of Munster, on his death, remarks that the "Commonwealth never had a greater loss, because, undoubtedly, it never had a more able, powerful, patient, and industrious servant. He discharged his duty in full, and acted in fact so well, as if he had been born only for that particular. He was a patron, father, and husband to the fatherless and widow. For uprightness, singleheartedness, and sincerity, he exercised them to his enemies; and, although very sparing in his promises to the rebels, yet was he most liberal in his performances;" and

* Ludlow, pp. 340, 341.

† Whitelock, Dec. 8.

Whitelock says, "especially the death of Ireton struck great sadness into Cromwell." The parliament, on hearing of his death, immediately voted that his body should be brought to London, that it should receive a public funeral at the expense of the country, and that his widow and children should be provided for with an estate of 2000*l.* per annum. General Lambert was then appointed by the parliament lord-deputy of Ireland.

The commission of Cromwell as lord-lieutenant for three years being now nearly expired, it was moved in the parliament that it should be renewed. Cromwell, however, rose and proposed that the motion should be negatived; and, as Lambert's commission was only to extend for six months, after which time only he could be commander-in-chief, he declined the office. Cromwell's design in this juncture was to flatter Lambert, who, though brave and not destitute of abilities, was a remarkably vain man; and as it was then moved that the commander-in-chief of all the forces should name the commander for Ireland, Cromwell named Fleetwood, who was about to become his son-in-law, by marrying Ireton's widow. He even managed this plot so as to induce Lambert to believe that an injustice was inflicted upon him by the unkind disposition of the parliament. This blow to the vanity of Lambert had the effect of rousing in his heart a most inveterate enmity towards that assembly.

Galway surrendered on the 6th of April, 1652, and the leaders of the Royalists, and the Catholics, were allowed and assisted to leave Ireland for foreign countries.

The lands confiscated in Ireland were seized by the parliament, and two bills were passed,—the one for the purpose of arranging and ascertaining the amount and value of those confiscations, and the other to empower the sale or regranting of those lands. As soon as tranquillity was restored, the granting of titles to land, and the regulations proposed for the permanent settlement of Ireland, were carried into effect with extraordinary energy by the officers of the Commonwealth. The Earls of Ormond, Clanricarde, and Castlehaven, with nineteen other noblemen, and about eighty private gentlemen, were condemned to lose their lives, as well as all those who had been concerned in the rebellion, and in the murders and massacres which had been perpetrated previously to the 10th of November, 1642, when the supreme Catholic council of Kilkenny had the power of restraining the ferocity of its subjects. All the officers who had served in the Catholic army were expelled the kingdom, and two-thirds of their lands were confiscated for the public use. Two-thirds of the estates of other persons were also confiscated, if the Irish commissioners adjudged them liable to such a penalty. All those who professed the Romish faith, unless able to show that they had throughout maintained allegiance to the Commonwealth, were to be deprived of one-third of their lands. This act of confiscation was passed by the parliament on the 12th of August, 1652. By the act for distributing the confiscated lands, the property forfeited in the counties of Limerick, Tipperary, and Waterford in Munster; in King's and Queen's counties, West Meath; and East Meath in Leinster;

Donegal, Antrim, and Armagh in Ulster, was to be applied—one-half for the benefit of those who had advanced money for the reduction of Ireland, and the other half for the payment of all arrears due to the army after the 5th of June, 1649. The lands confiscated in the counties of Dublin, Kildare, Carlow, and Cork, were reserved for the uses of parliament. The remaining confiscated lands in Ulster, Leinster, and Munster, were reserved in order to make up deficiencies in the previous grants, or in the arrears of the army pay, and towards the liquidation of debts otherwise due by the government. Besides which, a certain amount of property was reserved for the establishment of free schools and places of worship, the erection of bridges, opening of roads, and the general promotion of manufactures. Any further lands which remained were to be sold or rented to Protestants only; while the lands west of the Shannon, including the whole province of Connaught, were reserved as the division of Ireland to which the Irish Catholics who did not leave the kingdom were to be driven for their future abodes.* This bill did not finally become a law until the end of September, 1653.

A question of even greater difficulty than the distribution of the confiscated lands was that of the toleration of the Romish Church in Ireland.† By the act of September, 1650, the parliament yielded not the free exercise of the Romish religion; and it went no further than not to impose any mode of

* Scoble, 1652, chap. xii., xiii., and *ubi supra*; Cox's History of Ireland, vol. ii.; Account of Transactions in 1653; Journals, April 7, 10, 14, 15.

† Ludlow, pp. 416, 417.

worship on their subjects by violent means. The commissioners made no more concessions; and the parliament, by a small majority, resolved that those which had been made should not extend to allowing the exercise of the Popish religion in Ireland, or to any toleration in that particular. But at this time the parliament entertained the idea of uniting England, Scotland, and Ireland under one government; and the religious establishment of the latter was in consequence deferred.

Thus was the kingdom of Ireland conquered by Cromwell and his generals,—the royal authority utterly destroyed,—a stern military government instituted,—the country and the people reduced to a state of peace never before experienced,—their liberties as well as their anarchy extinguished,—and the arbitrary policy adopted and enforced of driving all the Roman Catholics out of the three provinces of Ulster, Munster, and Leinster, into the wild, inhospitable, and depopulated province of Connaught. If they retraced their way south or east of the Shannon, it was under the penalty of death. Never were the inhabitants of a country, since the days of the Goths and Vandals, subjected to greater tribulation or retribution. The rebellion and massacre of 1641, and the loyalty of the Catholics to the late dynasty, were the arguments used against mercy to the Irish. The atrocities of that rebellion were great, but they were much exaggerated by Protestant writers; as were the cruelties of Cromwell by the Catholics. An impartial examination of the most credible authorities bring us, however, to the conclusion that mercy was the least of all those considerations which

animated the generals and soldiers of the parliament, or those of the king or the Catholics. The whole civil war in Ireland was a desperate contest, at whatever expense of blood or cruelty, for the supremacy of the one party and army over the power of the other; and it is probable that, if it were necessary for his success in conquering Ireland, Cromwell would have exterminated all the inhabitants; but we cannot arrive at the conclusion that, when that triumph was complete, the lord-general would have sacrificed a single life, unless he considered his authority endangered by plots or revolts.*

* The Journals of Parliament; Whitelock; Ludlow; Rushworth; Carte's Life of Ormond; Cromwell and Ireton's Letters; Correspondence of the Nuncio Rinuccini with the Pope; various MSS.; and other authorities, including all those referred to in the foot-notes of this chapter, contain the information, which I have consulted and compared in selecting the materials from which I have endeavoured to draw a (I trust impartial) sketch of Ireland, to the condition of which I will have again to refer frequently in the course of this History, and of which, throughout, Ireland forms the most perplexing subject, in discovering and estimating real facts. See also Notes in Appendix to this volume.

CHAPTER V.

THE AFFAIRS OF SCOTLAND.

CHARLES II. PROCLAIMED KING—POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS STATE OF THE KINGDOM—ARRIVAL OF MONTROSE: HIS ACHIEVEMENTS, DISCOMFITURE, AND IGNOMINIOUS EXECUTION—THE KING ARRIVES IN SCOTLAND—CONDITIONS EXACTED—CROMWELL INVADES THE KINGDOM—BATTLE OF DUNBAR—THE SCOTTISH ARMY DEFEATED—THE KING MARCHES INTO ENGLAND—BATTLE OF WORCESTER, AND ITS CONSEQUENCES.

On the death of Charles I. there prevailed no democratic spirit in Scotland. The feudal elements of aristocracy produced sedition and anarchy, but there existed no sentiment favourable to a republic. The strife of parties was between the supporters of Prelacy on the one side, and the stern Presbyterians on the other. Both protested against the execution of the king; and the commissioners of the Commonwealth were arrested and sent back ignominiously from Scotland over the English frontier. Huntly and his adherents, Munro and Middleton, contended for the unconditional restoration of Charles II.; but the Covenanters beheaded Huntly, although he was the brother of their leader, Argyll.

Charles II. was proclaimed king by the rigid Presbyterians, whose chief head was Argyll. By a solemn

league and covenant, the Scotch resolved to defend monarchy; and the conduct of the Independents, in expelling the Presbyterians from the English House of Commons, gave not only great offence in Scotland, but was an additional reason for observing in that kingdom the faithful defence of the covenant, which was considered the great charter of the constitution and of the Church. In proclaiming Charles II., however, it was stipulated to be on condition of his good behaviour, strict observance of the covenant, and entertaining no other person about him but such as were godly men and faithful to their obligations.

The gallant and accomplished Marquis of Montrose, who had fled to France, ventured to return to Scotland, with a number of military followers, from Holland and Germany, in which he was aided by some money supplied by the King of Denmark, a few ships given him by the Prince of Orange, and a quantity of arms furnished by the King of Sweden. With five hundred men he landed in the Orkneys, where he armed several of the inhabitants, and crossed over to Caithness, in the expectation that the Highlanders would at once resort to his standard. But he was disappointed, and suddenly attacked and defeated by a force sent against him by the Committee of Estates. While wandering in the disguised habit of a peasant, he was afterwards betrayed by a pretended friend, and delivered over to his enemies. He was carried in that habit, amidst the jeers and insults of the Covenanters, to Edinburgh. He was driven through that city sitting upon a high chair placed on a cart, bound with cords, and otherwise treated with indignities, which prove

the ferocious and uncivilised dispositions of the magistrates as well as of the clergy of that period. During the humiliations and insults of a trial before the Scottish parliament, he maintained that superiority of language, courage, and demeanour, for which he was ever distinguished; and the barbarity of the clergy immediately before his execution could scarcely have been practised by any people less civilised than the Vandals or the Mohawks. He had written and published in pure Latin a narrative of his military actions. This book was hung by the barbarians with a cord from his neck; and he was, according to his sentence, executed, but not before he was "consigned to damnation in the world to come, as a proud, incorrigible sinner, with an obdurate heart,—as a wicked, perjured, traitorous, and profane person, who refused to hearken to the voice of the Church." It is of Montrose that Cardinal de Retz, a great judge of mankind, says, "The chief of the house of Graham is the only man in the world who has given me the idea of certain heroes, who are no more to be seen, except in the lives of Plutarch."* But this high praise could suffer abatement; for the character of Montrose was not without blemish. Not content with the vengeance inflicted upon this

* Mémoires du C. de Retz, vol. ii., livre 3, p. 147. Montrose was executed in the thirty-eighth year of his age. His sentence was—"That he, James Graham, should be carried next day to Edinburgh Cross, and there be hanged on a gibbet thirty feet high, for the space of three hours; then be taken off, his head be cut off on the scaffold, and his legs and arms from his body, and that they be stuck up in four chief towns of the kingdom; his body buried in the place appropriated for common malefactors, except the Church, on his repentance, should take off his excommunication."—Charles affected to condemn the efforts of Montrose as made in opposition to his authority. Balfour, iv., 24, 25; Thurloe's State Papers, i., 147; Whitelock, 424-447, *passim*.

hero, nor with having executed the Marquis of Huntly the year before, they cruelly hung a youth of eighteen, Spottiswood of Darsie, Sir Francis Hay, and Colonel Sibbald, who were taken prisoners. But the Scots Presbyterians had a sorrowful remembrance of the wicked persecutions of Charles I. and Montrose, and these personages were the adherents of, and who had fought for, that monarch.

Cromwell having reduced Ireland to humble obedience and tranquillity, the condition of Scotland, and the proceedings of the Covenanters, required that the English Commonwealth should either establish its authority in that kingdom, or abandon it to Charles II. Commissioners were sent by Argyll and his partisans to meet Charles at Breda. The conditions which they exacted were required to be submitted to by him without any reservation. They demanded that he should, by proclamation, banish from his court all excommunicated persons who, under Hamilton and Montrose, had fought for his family; that no Englishman who had served against the parliament should be received into his presence; that he should sign the covenant, and ratify all acts of parliament which established the Confession of Faith—the Catechism—the worship and the government of the Presbyterian Church; and that he should be bound by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in all ecclesiastical matters, and in the civil affairs of parliament. These were, to a man of the temper, habits, and loose principles of Charles, odious conditions, but were reluctantly accepted, by the advice of the young Duke of Buckingham, the Duke of Hamilton, Lord Lauder-

dale, and other exiles, who were anxious to return home. His conscience had probably few scruples, but the restraints which the Presbyterians laid on his gratifications were far harder conditions. But he hoped to evade their moral acerbities, and he therefore promised in public that which he resolved not to practise in private.

Notwithstanding the fierce intolerance of the Covenanters, and the desperate affairs of the Royalists in England, Charles sailed in the end of June, 1650, for Scotland, accompanied by several Dutch ships of war, which were employed in guarding the herring fishery, and, arriving in the Frith of Cromarty, he was compelled, before landing, to sign the covenant, and hear prayers and sermons, exhorting him to be steadfast in the faith, and to maintain that holy contract. The noblemen who had accompanied the king, and who were styled "Engagers," were obliged to leave him, and to retire to their homes. No Englishman was allowed to remain with him. He was next requested to sign a declaration, thanking Providence for his being delivered from the snare of evil counsel, casting himself and his affairs wholly upon God and the righteousness of the covenant; hoping that he would be humbled and afflicted in spirit on account of his father's wicked measures; denouncing the idolatry of his mother, which, with his father's sins, provoked Him, who was a jealous God, to visit the sins of the father upon the children; that the enemies of the covenant would be his enemies; and that he detested all popery, prelacy, schism, profaneness, and superstition, none of which should be tolerated or countenanced within his dominions. Before his coronation

they demanded that he should do penance and humiliation publicly before the whole people, and sign twelve articles of repentance, enumerating the sins of his father and grandfather, and the idolatry of his mother.

To all those acts of humiliation Charles submitted, either from compulsion, or as the safest policy in looking forward to ulterior objects. But he soon discovered that he acquired no power, and that the supreme authority was still exercised by Argyll and the Covenanters. "Malignants" and "Engagers" were denounced and hunted out; and new objects of persecution, called "Sorcerers," were in great numbers burnt on accusations of witchcraft by the magistrates in most parts of Scotland.

Fairfax, whose wife had become a rigid Presbyterian, and who had great influence over him, declined to take command of the forces which parliament had ordered to invade Scotland, and resigned his commission as general of the parliamentary army. Cromwell, who had arrived from Ireland, and who intreated Fairfax to retain his rank in the army,* was then invested with the supreme military commmand, and marched into Scotland with an army of 16,000 men, horse and foot. The prudence of the Scottish general, Lesley, and the want of provisions which Crom-

* Whitelock, 444-446. Ludlow, as usual, describes Cromwell as insincere in his attempt to prevail on Fairfax to comply with the wishes of the parliament. But Mrs. Hutchinson, a more discriminating and a more generous enemy, states, on the authority of her husband, her conviction to the contrary. Ludlow's Memoirs, i., 269-270; Hutchinson, ii., 170-171. The remark of the last writer on the conduct of Fairfax is highly characteristic: "But this great man was then as immoveable by his friends as pertinacious in obeying his wife, whereby he then died to all his former glory, and became the monument of his own name, which every day wore out."

well had experienced, would have greatly embarrassed the latter, and he would probably have been driven back into England, if the Covenanters, jealous of royalty, had not purged the Scottish army of 4000 "Malignants" and "Engagers," so charged because, in their loyalty and enthusiasm, they resorted to the king's standard. It was resolved that the army, thus purged, should consist entirely of the elect, and that the Lord would not allow them to be defeated. They then forced Lesley to descend from the heights of Lammermuir to attack Cromwell's army, which was now retreating from Dunbar, and which was saved from military discredit and defeat by the fanatical madness of the Scottish clergy. When he beheld the Scottish army descending from the heights to the plain, he exclaimed, "The Lord hath delivered them into my hands." He immediately attacked them, although they were double the number of his forces, and, by his discipline and great military skill, routed with great slaughter the army of the Covenanters, having met with little resistance except from one regiment of Highlanders. About 3000 Covenanters were slain in the battle of Dunbar, and 9000 taken prisoners. Cromwell then marched against and entered Edinburgh and Leith; and the remainder of the Scottish forces retreated to Stirling. Winter setting in, he proceeded no further at this time.*

The Scottish parliament was held at Johnstone; and Hamilton, Lauderdale, and other "Engagers," after public penance and repentance, were allowed to

* Whitelock, pp. 447, 451, 454. "As the army marched through some towns, poor women fell on their knees, begging that they would not burn their breasts before they destroyed them, and children begging to save their lives."—*Ibid.*

appear at court; but Charles was kept under great restraint, and severely rebuked by a committee of ministers "for having, as a covenanting king, spoken familiarly with a young lady."

The Scottish forces which were raised towards the spring under Hamilton and Lesley divided themselves into two bodies; the one called themselves "Protestors," declaring equally against Charles and Cromwell, and against all "Engagers" or "Malignants;" the other party, or faction, was called "Resolutioners;" and both continued long after to disturb the public tranquillity. Charles, with the Scottish forces, being reduced to extremities at Torwood, resolved at once to march rapidly with 14,000 men into England. But Cromwell despatched Lambert with a body of cavalry in pursuit, and leaving Monk in command of 7000 troops in Scotland, he followed the royal army, which, not being joined as was anticipated by fresh forces on the march through England, arrived at Worcester greatly reduced in numbers. Cromwell suddenly appeared with an army of 30,000; and the battle of Worcester was fought with great slaughter, and the remnant of the king's troops dispersed. Charles, with a few attendants, escaped, first to the "royal oak," and then, under various disguises and many adventures, into Dorsetshire, and afterwards to France. "The battle of Worcester," said Cromwell, "is my crowning mercy." He from that day became disgusted with the parliament and even with the Commonwealth.*

* Whitelock, p. 455 to 461; Old Parliamentary History, xix., pp. 433-452; Carte's Letters, i., p. 381; Balfour, iv., p. 97; Ludlow, i., pp. 283, 284; Thurloe, i., pp. 158-163. See account of Charles in the next volume.

Yet, on the news of the battle of Worcester having been received by parliament, a landed estate in England of the annual value of 4000*l.* was granted to Cromwell, and Hampton Court was ordered to be fitted up as his residence. An estate of the annual value of 2000*l.* was granted to Ireton in England, and one of 1000*l.* a-year in Scotland to Lambert. Monk and Whalley received lands to the value of 500*l.* each, and Oakey an estate of 300*l.* a year.

Four members of parliament, the Chief Justice St. John, Sir Gilbert Pickering, Whitelock, and Lisle, were appointed as a deputation to meet Cromwell, to thank him for his great and unwearied labours in the service of the Commonwealth, and to represent to him that "since by the blessing of God the enemy was totally defeated, the state of affairs was such as that they now could dispense with his services in the field;" and parliament requested him to "take such rest and repose as might be most conducive to the better settlement of his health;" for which purpose they chose a residence within a few miles of Westminster, "and by this means they might have the benefit of his presence and advice on the great and important business of the further settlement of the Commonwealth." They met the Lord-General near Aylesbury, where they passed the night. He presented each commissioner with a horse and two Scotch prisoners. Whitelock appears to have received "a gallant young nag of a good breed;" and he tells us that "one of his two prisoners was a gentleman of nobility," but that he "gave them both their liberty and a passport to return to their own country."

Upon the following day the Speaker, with several

members of parliament, the president of the council, the lord mayor and aldermen of London, and "a multitude of persons of consideration and rank," met Cromwell near London. He spoke modestly about himself, but lauded the bravery of the officers and soldiers, and praised the Lord for all the glory. He then made his public and triumphant entry into Westminster, and on the 16th was publicly received in parliament. He was previously elected Chancellor of the University of Oxford. This distinction was conferred on him while in Scotland, shortly before the severe sickness under which he laboured during the winter of that year. It may at the same time be observed, that on the Earl of Manchester refusing to sign the engagement to be true and faithful to the Commonwealth, as established without king or house of lords, he ceased to be Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, and the Chief-Justice St. John was elected in his stead.

General Popham, who died at sea, was honoured with a public funeral at Westminster Abbey; and on the 24th of October, a great public thanksgiving for the battle of Worcester was celebrated throughout the kingdom.

After the departure of Cromwell, Monk first besieged Stirling Castle, of which he soon became master, and the records of Scotland, which were lodged in that fortress, were sent by him to England. Dumfries also surrendered. Dundee, which was then strongly fortified and powerfully garrisoned, contained most of the valuable furniture, money, and plate of the king and nobility. It was invested and stormed by Monk, who, in order to terrify the remaining towns

of Scotland which held out for Charles, massacred all the inhabitants. Cromwell committed no greater act of cruelty in Ireland than the atrocious slaughter by the heartless General Monk at Dundee. Aberdeen, St. Andrew's, Inverness, and every other town and fort, then voluntarily sent their adhesion to the parliamentary general, to whom also Argyll offered submissions, which were accepted. Glensairn, Balcarras, and a few others fled to the mountains, where they held out for some time in a state of wretched poverty. New orders were issued, by which the kingdom of Scotland was added to the Commonwealth, and Sir Harry Vane, St. John, and some other commissioners under Monk, together with the assistance of a few English and Scotch judges, established a system of order, security, and a more impartial administration of justice than had ever before been known in that kingdom.*

* See for authorities, Journals of Parliament, Whitelock, Thurloe, Ludlow, Cromwell and Monk's Letters, various MSS. on Affairs of Scotland, Proceedings relative to the Kirk of Scotland, and Burnet's History of his Own Time.

CHAPTER VI.

STATE OF THE BRITISH PLANTATIONS AT THE BEGINNING OF THE COMMONWEALTH—VIRGINIA—NEW ENGLAND—BARBADOES.

To Great Britain and Ireland we must now add some of those settlements which the adventurous spirit, ambition, and pride of the English, and the tyranny of the Stuarts and the persecution of the Church, planted in newly-discovered countries. Spain, soon after the discovery of America, obtained by force, treachery, injustice, and cruelty, the largest islands of the West Indies, and the empires of Mexico, Central America, and Peru.

Portugal, after exploring Africa from Tangiers to the Cape of Good Hope, discovered a highway by sea to India; and soon after, by accident, discovered Brazil, which vast and fertile region of the new world soon became her most important colony.

In the year 1495, John Cabot, under a commission from Henry VII., sailed with his son in five vessels, at their own expense, in quest of unknown regions. They were empowered to "discover islands and countries, either of *Gentiles*, or of *Infidels*, to take possession of, and set up the king's standard among them

as vassals of the crown of England; and to return with merchandise to the port of Bristol." Cabot discovered Newfoundland, which he called *Prima Vista*, on the 24th of June. He died in 1497. His son afterwards sailed, and discovered the coast of Labrador, and is said to have explored the shores of North America to the 38th degree of north latitude. His object was to find a north-west passage to *Cathay* (China); but his crews being disposed to mutiny, he returned to England, after having followed the coast northward to Newfoundland. He appears to have been the first discoverer of all the countries on the Atlantic coasts from Florida to the northern parts of Labrador. There is great obscurity as to the exact date of his voyages; for his journals, if he kept any, have never been found. But it is probable that he discovered the continent of America before Columbus actually did so in 1498. He was afterwards employed by the King of Spain, in whose service he discovered the Rio de la Plata, where he built a fort. He was ungratefully treated by Charles V., like all the previous discoverers employed by Spain. He was also neglected by Henry VII. In 1516 he was employed by Henry VIII. He sailed to the coast of Brazil, returned by way of Hayti and Porto Rico; and, in the year 1548, Edward VI. conferred on him the title of *Grand Pilot* of England.

We hear nothing further of this distinguished navigator until 1557, when, in his old age, we find him "*governor* of a company of merchant adventurers, for making discoveries with the view of finding a north-east passage to China;" for which purpose Sir Henry Willoughby was despatched from England; but, unfor-

tunately, after passing the North Cape, he was frozen to death with his crew, in his ship, within a port in Lapland: while his companion, Chancellor, in another vessel, sailed into the White Sea, to the port of Archangel.

During the reign of Queen Mary, adventures by sea were discouraged, in consequence of her marriage with, and fearing to give offence to, Philip of Spain.

Of all the tenures on which the right of soil is founded, there is none superior to that of immemorial occupancy. This superior right of the aborigines of America to the country they inhabited, was founded in nature. It was to the red nations, the bounteous free gift of Heaven. Europeans declared that tenure of no validity, for the passions of avarice and conquest, supported by the dark superstitions of the age, represented the Almighty, just and merciful Deity, as the partial, special God of the Christians. The Romish Church first inculcated, and the Spaniards first enforced this monstrous doctrine. With the authority of their king, and the license and benediction of the pope, they instituted this horrid blasphemy as their measure of right, in robbing from the aboriginal nations the magnificent islands of Cuba, Hayti, Jamaica, and Porto Rico, and the empires of Mexico, Central America, and Peru. Queen Elizabeth and King James denied all papal authority; yet each, as the head of the Church, adopted, without scruple, in the spirit, not of religion, but of avarice and ambition, the superiority of Christian over heathen rights to all countries that should be discovered by their subjects.*

* In Purchass' Pilgrims there is a long essay (vol. iv., chap. xx., p. 1809) called "Virginia's Verger." Its purport is to prove that

It was the principle and sentiments of Columbus to maintain a friendly intercourse with the natives of St. Salvador, Hayti, and Cuba; and that great man was guiltless of the atrocities and cruelties which were exercised by succeeding Spanish governors and adventurers. In the islands and countries subdued by the Spaniards, the natives were comparatively feeble in their persons; and being ignorant of the use of fire-arms, and of scientific warfare, they looked upon their invaders, not as men, but as supernatural, invulnerable spirits, sent forth by the Gods; nor did they fully believe that white men were mortals, until they became masters of the islands in which their fathers were entombed. But the aborigines of Virginia, and all the countries north of Mexico, were a strong and bold race, with whom it was dangerous to quarrel, and who proved ferocious and unflinching enemies.

The arguments in favour of new discoverers seizing on territories and establishing settlements in America, were remarkably plausible, and the difficulties which were afterwards experienced never entered into the calculations of the adventurers. It was held out that Virginia was a large and desirable country, inhabited by people, savage indeed, but yet gentle—that the climate was wholesome, and, though much warmer than England, was more agreeable to our nature—that the mountains made a seasonable *proffer* of hidden treasures never yet searched for—that by the formation of a colony we should advance the kingdom of God, enlarge our dominions, multiply

heathens have no right to any portion of the earth, and that Virginia was the lawful property of England. It is written by the parson of St. Martin's, Ludgate-hill, and dedicated, in 1626, to George, Archbishop of Canterbury. See note, Appendix.

our subjects, and that such strength of shipping might thence be maintained as to furnish our own various wants and the wants of other nations too.*

Since the time of the crusades, the passions of the English people were probably never more excited than they had been by the accounts received of the splendid conquests by the Spaniards in America. All ranks and classes were inflamed with the prospect of obtaining golden treasures in Virginia and other unexplored countries of North America. Peers, and especially peeresses,—commoners and their dames,—merchants, shipowners,—mechanics, and even farmers, entered with zeal and hope into the various projects of discovery and plantation in America. Sums of money were raised by lottery; St. Paul's was the great exchange for schemes and speculations; and for a time a gambling spirit, similar to that which was manifested afterwards in the South Sea and Mississippi schemes, distinguished that resort of adventurers—the long aisle of Old St. Paul's.

We have already alluded to the voyages by sea, and to the circumnavigation of the world by Drake; to the origin of the English slave-trade by Hawkins; and to the attempts to colonise Virginia by Sir Walter Raleigh.

The spirit of enterprise and the love of adventure had urged bold men to encounter, amidst those vast wilds, the most perilous dangers, the greatest fatigue, and the most incredible privations. From the time that Europeans first landed on the shores and penetrated the forests of the newly-found world, this

* Pamphlet entitled "Most Excellent Fruits by Planting in Virginia." London, 1609.

daring spirit has been constantly manifested; whether in the milder climate of the southern regions, or the bleak, frigid countries of the north. The man of European origin has persevered in traversing forests and prairies,—in crossing rivers, lakes, and swamps,—and in clambering up mountains, uncertain as to where rest was to be found at night, or food procured during the day. The privations of hunger, the fatigue of long journeys, and the attacks of wild beasts and ferocious savages, have all been disregarded and overcome by his indomitable spirit,—by his patient endurance of fatigue and labour.

When the first English adventurers and navigators sailed along the shores of America, the scenery in its primeval wildness presented in many parts its natural sylvan luxuriance down to the shores, and in other parts a rocky, barren, and stern aspect. At that time none but the native red tribes traversed its woods and savannahs, and no vessel but the white bark canoe of the savage navigated the waters of its rivers and inland seas,—of its Atlantic and Pacific shores. The surface of the interior was unknown, and, when explored, it was discovered that the vast and wild regions extending from the islands and shores of the Atlantic to the coasts of the Pacific —from the sterile lands of Labrador and the north-west to the tropical soils of the gulf and table-lands of Mexico, with the exception of the sterile territories of the north, and the prairies west of the Mississippi—were covered with dense and magnificent forests. But such wild regions, inhabited by unknown and rude tribes, presented formidable terrors to those who left countries where, excepting when

persecuted or misruled, they generally enjoyed the protection of the laws, the pleasures of society, and the comforts of convenient dwellings.

Beginning with the North, discovered by Cabot, Labrador exhibited then, as now, a surface sterile and naked, its prevailing features being rocks, swamps, and water; and in this unhospitable region, with an area equal in square miles to France, Spain and Germany, extending from 46 deg. to 50 deg. north latitude, and from 56 deg. to 78 deg. west to Hudson's Bay, vegetation only appears as the last efforts of expiring nature. Small scraggy poplars, stinted firs, creeping birch, and leafless willows thinly scattered in the southern parts, form the catalogue of its trees, with the exception of occasionally in the sheltered valleys, where some large firs and birches grow. In the most northerly parts lichens and mosses are the only signs of vegetation; and in the south, herbs and grass only grow in sheltered places. The climate, in its severity during winter, is probably as cold as at the poles of the earth, and the warmth of summer is of short duration. Its fisheries alone, and the furs of its otters, foxes, wolves, bears, and a few deer and beavers, constitute the only wealth of the country, whose natives were then, and are still, the wandering Esquimaux. But its bays and inlet harbours render this territory convenient for excellent fisheries of cod and salmon, which abound along its coasts, and in its bays and rivers.

Next to Labrador, the large island of Newfoundland, which is indented with deep bays, numerous harbours, and its interior broken up with waters, rocks, and valleys, as well as some tracts of soil fit for cultivation, presents on the Atlantic coast an

abrupt, rocky, and barren aspect. The eastern coast rises from the ocean in terrific cliffs and rocky shores, the southern lined with islands and indented with inlets, is also girt with dangerous rocks, but the aspect of the country is more woody; whilst on the west the country is generally wooded, the soil fertile, and the coasts and the rivers abound with fish of various kinds. These were the regions first discovered by the English; from whence the Cabots sailed west and south to the shores of Virginia.

The countries within the Gulf of St. Lawrence, as those first appeared, in 1534, to the French navigator, Jacques Cartier, retain to a great degree, at the present day, the aspect which they presented to his mariners. Anticosti is scarcely capable of any cultivation. The south side of Cape Breton is rocky, but wooded, and in part mountainous. The coast of that island, washed by the Gulf of St. Lawrence, is of dangerous access, its high cliffs in many parts being almost perpendicular. The interior is romantic and mountainous. Woods, with the exception of small patches cleared for cultivation, and such spots as are thrown open by rocks, occupy the surface almost of the whole island. The coasts of Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, of New Brunswick within the Gulf, and the coasts and Bay of Chaleur, are now enlivened with numerous prosperous settlements. At that period all those shores presented a country covered with forest down to the flowing of the tide. The lands watered by the great river of St. Lawrence, and the lakes of Canada, exhibited an unbroken wilderness. The same features still remain unchanged along the north coast, below the mouth of the river Saghuny, and on

the south from Cape Rozier up to the lowest of the French settlements, as were beheld by Jacques Cartier and his crews in August, 1535.

The whole Atlantic coast of the country, now known as Nova Scotia, from the Strait of Canso, on the east, to Cape Sable, on the west, rises out of the ocean, as a wild and dangerous region, lined with rocks and thousands of rocky islands, with a broken interior, and innumerable small bays, harbours, and rivers. With the dense fogs which hover, excepting when the winds blow from the north and west, along the Atlantic coasts of New Brunswick, Cape Breton, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland, these regions would naturally be shunned by adventurers, and especially by those who intended to plant settlements. With the exception of some parts within the inlets of the Bay of Fundy, the whole south-eastern coast of the countries now known as New Brunswick, the State of Maine, and Massachusetts Bay, along the Atlantic, was naturally forbidding. Rocks, islands, inlets, and woods, were the distinguishing features discerned by our early navigators. But the lands were found generally low and sandy from within the Bay of Cape Cod to the Cape of Florida, and at that period, with the exception of the sandy downs and morasses, the whole country was covered with dense forests.

That part of America to which the first efforts of Sir Walter Raleigh were directed to found a colony, is situated not in the country now called Virginia, but on an island four miles from the shore within Albemarle Sound, in the northern part of Carolina. This inlet is separated from the sea by a narrow ridge of sandy downs or islands. The channels between

these islands are narrow and shallow,—that of Roanoke being not more than eight feet deep at low water. Albemarle Sound is about sixty miles in length from east to west, and from five to fifteen in breadth. The Roanoke and the Chowan are the principal rivers which flow into this inlet; but it receives also several smaller streams. The alluvial lands up along the rivers are fertile, but otherwise sandy and sterile. On the north side of the Sound extends the Dismal Swamp, and on the south the country is barren, and on both sides unfavourable for plantations. It was on the island of Roanoke that the first attempt at settlement was made by the English. This spot was probably chosen as a place of greater security than a site on the mainland; but it was not judiciously selected, either for trade or for agriculture. The adjacent country is low, and extends almost on a dead level inland, from sixty to eighty miles from the sea coast. The soil generally of this region is sandy and sterile, and covered with trees, chiefly pitch-pines, which usually denote barren land. In some parts, however, near the banks of the rivers and on the borders of some of the swamps, the soil yields excellent rice and maize.

The sea-shore and the country for a long distance inland, both of Virginia and Carolina, are so low, and the water off the coast so shallow, that the land is scarcely seen when the soundings are no more than fifteen fathoms. But as the waters shallow gradually, vessels may approach the land without running any great risk. The entrances, however, to the Chesapeake, and into the great rivers which flow into it, are deep enough for the largest ship.

The foregoing brief outline presents the aspects of those regions of America with which the English became first acquainted, and in which, after several unsuccessful and inauspicious attempts and struggles, a mighty, flourishing, and independent empire has been founded.

The first attempt, in 1579, to colonise Virginia under a patent obtained by Sir Walter Raleigh for his half-brother, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, failed; and the latter was drowned with all his crew on his return voyage to England. But Raleigh was not discouraged; and in 1585 he sent 180 settlers to Roanoke, under the command of Sir Richard Grenville, whose predatory spirit and exploits against the Spaniards caused the failure of the plantation. He left the colonists to shift for themselves, and being men who disliked labour, they exhausted their resources and provisions in searching after the precious metals. They quarrelled with the natives; in their bloody encounters many of the English were slain; and the remainder, unable to defend themselves, were carried back to England by Sir Francis Drake, who visited the place on returning from the West Indies. A few days after their departure a small vessel arrived with supplies from Sir Walter Raleigh; but on finding the settlement abandoned they returned to England. Raleigh, however, persevered, and he sent out a third colony to Roanoke, in three ships, with abundant supplies, under the command of Grenville, who left fifty men at the deserted plantation; but in consequence of the long delay in forming a settlement, Sir Walter became impatient, and he sailed, a short time

before the departure of Grenville, in a separate vessel, and made the American coast near Cape Hatteras. He unfortunately was unable to find Roanoke, and he returned without success to England; yet, in 1587, he sent out a ship with more settlers under the charge of a governor named White. On his arrival at Roanoke, White found that the fifty men left by Grenville had either perished from famine, or were exterminated by the savages.

He however left 175 men and women in Virginia, provided with all necessaries. One of the Indians was converted to Christianity; and in August of the same year a Mrs. Dare gave birth to a daughter. This unfortunate child, the first-born of English parents in the Western world, was christened Virginia. White returned soon after to England; but Raleigh was unable to attend much to his colony: he being then actively engaged in preparations for defending the country against the Spanish Armada. White returned a second time to Virginia in 1590, where he found the whole colony exterminated; and even up to 1602 there was not a single European settled in all America, north of the Gulf of Mexico. Two years afterwards De Monts, from St. Maloes, established a small colony at Port Royal, Acadia,—now Annapolis, Nova Scotia; and this was the first permanent European settlement in America, north of Mexico.

In 1602, Bartholomew Gosnold sailed from Dartmouth in a small vessel direct to America. He entered Massachusetts Bay—sowed a little wheat on the islands, since then called Elizabeth's and Martha's vineyards—traded with the Indians, and returned with a cargo of wood, furs, and gums. The success of Gosnold in making a direct voyage, instead of sailing

on the previous track, round by the Canaries, and in trading with the Indians, induced some English merchants to continue the trade.

In 1605, the merchants of London sent a ship direct to America, and in the course of the voyage discovered Long Island; where the crew sowed some wheat, which grew up and ripened. After trading with the Indians at Connecticut River and other places, this ship returned to London with a cargo of furs, wood, and other articles.

A company was then formed in London, and another in Plymouth, under patents from James I., to plant colonies in America. The London Company was constituted by a patent in favour of Sir Thomas Gates, Sir Richard Somers, and Richard Hakluyt, prebendary of Westminster, licensing them "to make habitations and plantations," and "to induce a colony of sundry of our people into that part of America commonly called Virginia." This company were to settle the country watered by, and the coast south of James River. The Plymouth Company were to settle the country to the north, by the name of New England. Three vessels, under the command of Captains Smith and Newport, accompanied by Mr. Percy, brother of the Earl of Northumberland, and several others, sailed in December, 1606, by way of the Canaries, and landed in April, 1607, at James River, where they left 104 persons, with Edward Wingfield as president; choosing a place which they named Jamestown for their settlement, and which place became the first permanent English plantation amidst the wilderness of the Western hemisphere. During the same year the Plymouth Company sent two ships with 100 planters,

under Admiral Gilbert, to North Virgina, but only forty-five persons consented to remain.

When the expedition under Captain Newport left England, it was the intention of the colonists to proceed to the old ill-chosen settlement on the island of Roanoke; but being prevented by a storm from crossing the bar across the inlet to the Sound, and being driven northward, the ships sailed into the magnificent Bay of Chesapeake, and exploring its shores they entered a deep and splendid river, and continued exploring its banks, until they arrived at a small peninsula, which they fixed upon as the site of their future settlement, giving the river and the plantation the name of the King of England. James River,—the source of which, later discoveries traced to the Alleghany Mountains,—flows with its branches through a fertile region, covered at that time with a magnificent primeval forest, and inhabited by numerous and bold aboriginal tribes; with whom peaceable relations might have been easily maintained, if the colonists had observed common prudence and justice in their intercourse with them.

The settlement at Jamestown would have been unsuccessful, were it not for the judicious, persevering, and bold conduct of Captain John Smith, one of the most extraordinary men of the age, and who had served with great renown against the Turks under the German emperors.

On accompanying the expedition, he did so with the full understanding that he was to be one of the councillors who were, on their arrival, to elect the president of the new government; but King James, who, in his kingcraft, included ostentatious mystery

as a maxim of wisdom, directed that the commission, which contained the names of the provincial councillors, should not be opened until twenty-four hours after their landing in Virginia. This vain artifice created, at the very commencement of the colony, the grounds of not only future but immediate evils. A long voyage by the circuitous course of the Canary and West India Islands was almost naturally incident, during four months, to disagreements on board of the ships in which so many were crowded. When the commission was opened the list of names was far from satisfactory, and those who were not included were envious and clamorous. The known abilities and high character of Captain Smith created so great jealousy, that although he was one of the council named in the commission, with the view of his being elected president, he was excluded altogether from a seat in the new government.

Before the departure of the expedition a code of instructions, drawn up by nine persons, was decreed, under the sign manual, by the king. By this instrument, the preaching of the Gospel, and public worship according to the rites of the Church of England, were commanded. Legislative and executive functions were conferred on a council. The laws they passed were not to be contrary to those of England; nor in force until allowed by royal authority. Penal inflictions were not to include death; for which persons accused could only be tried in England. Summary trials were allowed for misdemeanours. Lands were to be held by the same tenures as in England. A community of labour for mutual assistance, was to subsist for five years. Kindness to the heathen inhabitants, and

the communication of religious knowledge to them, were also enjoined by the royal instructions. These regulations, if adhered to, were judicious; but the king's pedantic folly, in not naming openly, before they left England, those who were to constitute the members of the colonial government, very nearly caused the complete failure of the settlement founded at James River. Dissensions broke out amongst the colonists, and the president who was elected proved a suspicious and utterly incapable governor. The site chosen for Jamestown was, it is true, selected as a place of security; but not for such advantages of situation as would ensure its permanence as a town.* The buildings were commenced and erected on a neck of land, which, by the course of the main river, and by a small fordable stream and lowland, over which the tide flowed, rendered it at high water, for some time, an island rather than a peninsula. The president, however, neglected, or rather, from his treachery, abstained from erecting defences; and he also discouraged armed exercises among the colonists. The latter disliking agricultural labour, sought profit only by bartering with, and in their bargains cheating, the Indians. Quarrels followed; and the natives rushing upon the undefended settlement, many of the colonists were killed.†

After Newport sailed with the ships to England in June, the colonists, having been improvident, their

* "There are places at which," says Jefferson, "the *laws* have said *there shall be towns*, but nature has said *there shall not*." Of the first town or settlement of Virginia (Jamestown) two or three old houses, the ruins of an old steeple, the churchyard, and faint traces of rude fortifications, are at present the only local memorials.

† Stith. Smith's Narrative.

stock of food was soon exhausted. If they had maintained good faith with the natives,—the latter would, on fair terms, have supplied them with maize and wild animals. The heat of the climate, and the exhalations from the decayed vegetable and fossil substances, afflicted the settlers with ague and dysentery; and, before September, the colonists were reduced to half the number that landed in the previous April. Disease first, and then the fury of the natives, provoked by the fraudulent conduct of the new settlers, appeared, as it were, in combination to annihilate the colony. Dissensions, accusations, and desperation, prevailed among those who were not carried off. The incapacity of the president was not only glaring, but he was detected in embezzling the remaining stores, and he attempted to seize the pinnace in order to escape from the settlement. Bartholomew Gosnold was among the first who died. Captain Smith, who had been excluded from the government, was, during the period of its calamity, actively engaged in making himself well acquainted with the country and its resources. His constitution, although exposed for many years to great hardships, during his early military career, was still healthy and vigorous; and this blessing was justly attributed to the unexceptionably regular and moral habits of the man.

The colonists, continuing to suffer by famine and disease, were only restrained from leaving the settlement by the efforts which he now made to procure supplies, and by the labours he exerted for them, until a reinforcement arrived of 120 men from England, with implements of husbandry, seeds, provisions, and other

supplies. These new immigrants consisted of gentlemen, labourers, *jewellers, and refiners of gold.* It soon became manifest that they were men incompetent for any productive labour. They had no idea of any other occupation except seeking for precious metals. They did nothing but collect a cargo of glittering sand found along the shore, and which they sent to England believing it to be gold. All agricultural industry was suspended, and a cargo of cedar wood, which had been sent to England the same year, proved the only article exported of any value.

During this *golden delusion*, and the misery caused by the licentious conduct of the colonists, Smith made one of the most adventurous and fatiguing surveys ever made by man. In an open boat, he made two long and dangerous voyages, and explored every inlet and bay on both sides of the Chesapeake, from Cape Charles to the Susquehannah. He also ascended the principal rivers to the falls. His object was to ascertain the solid and durable resources of the countries he explored, and to establish conciliatory relations with the natives. While he was absent, the golden frenzy of the colonists sunk into gloom and disappointment on discovering that the cargo which they sent to England was a worthless substance. They now beheld, in the absence of the man whom they had in their avarice disregarded, famine and sickness ready to destroy them. Discontent among themselves, and inability to encounter difficulty, or to obtain food, rendered their condition hopeless. Smith again appeared, with food obtained from the aborigines, and again saved the settlement. He was then immediately elected president.

His detention by Opecacanaugh,—his condemnation to death by the Sachem Powhatan,—his escape through the agency of the Sachem's daughter, Pocahontas,—his providing supplies to the colonists, and the extraordinary survey which he made,—his election to the presidency, after saving the colony, and securing the friendship of Powhatan and the natives, by his address,—his skill in obtaining provisions from the aborigines,—the means he adopted for constructing dwellings for the colonists, and fortifying Jamestown,—the whole course of his administration, and the dignified bearing, yet justness and morality of his character, not only saved the place and the people from destruction, but established for John Smith the reputation of founding the first permanent settlement —the first nucleus of Anglo-Saxon civilisation in America.

But his administration was, however, not acceptable to the London Company; the patentees of which sought only the accumulation of wealth, by the discovery of mines and metals, and opening a passage to the South Seas. They accordingly obtained, in May, 1609, a new charter, which entirely deranged the rights of the colonists, who had emigrated under the privileges of the former one.

The new charter was granted to twenty-one peers, ninety-eight knights, and a multitude of esquires, doctors, gentlemen, merchants, and members of the corporation of London, under the title of "The Treasurer and Company of Adventurers of the City of London, for the first Colony of Virginia." A council in England had the whole patronage and power to administer its affairs. Lord De la Warre was appointed governor and captain-general of the

colony. Nine ships, under Captain Newton, were sent out with 500 emigrants, and with authority to supersede the existing administration.

These emigrant vessels, except one, arrived at Jamestown. The missing ship was stranded on the Bermudas, on board of which, besides Captain Newton, were Sir George Somers and Sir Thomas Gates; who had, by a most unfortunate spirit of caution, been empowered, each separately, with the same powers as were given to Newton. The new immigrants consisted chiefly of profligate young men, of indigent gentlemen, of tradesmen of broken fortunes, and of family dependents too infamous to be retained decently at home in society. These desperate adventurers, though unprovided with any legal instruments, proclaimed the new charter, and overthrew the existing administration.

The colony became a confused anarchy, the turbulence of which roused the vengeance of the Indians. In this emergency they were forced to appeal to Smith, who again saved the settlement. The accidental explosion near him of a quantity of gunpowder at this juncture, completely disabled him physically, and forced him for the want of surgical aid to sail for England. He never returned to Virginia; the settlement of which he had conducted through such formidable privations and dangers. He left the colony opportunely, for he would have been soon deprived of authority by the company; and he lived honourably in England,* long enough to present to

* Stith says, "He became so famous in England before his death, that his adventures were dramatised and represented on the stage, much to his annoyance."

the world a valuable stock of knowledge, in an account of his travels and discoveries. In 1614 he went on a voyage of discovery to the coast north of Virginia, and explored the countries around Massachusetts Bay, and all those of the New England States. He penetrated the country, trafficked with the Indians, employed part of his crew in tracing a map of his surveys, and he then returned to England. He died on the 21st of June, 1631, aged only fifty-two years.

Smith left the colony in Virginia, consisting of 500 persons, amply supplied with provisions; and they having also cattle, implements of agriculture, and arms for their defence, wisdom and industry were alone wanted to insure its permanence and prosperity. But, soon after his departure, folly, idleness, riot, and profligacy distracted the colonists, and exasperated the aborigines. Famine was the consequence. The settlers were reduced to cannibals,—they fed on the flesh of the natives whom they had shot, and of their companions who died of disease or hunger,—and in six months after the departure of Smith, when Newton, Gates, and Somers arrived, the 500 colonists were reduced to sixty. The triumvirate immediately decided on abandoning the settlement, and they accordingly embarked for England.

Before they descended to the mouth of James River, they fortunately fell in with Lord De la Warre, who left England, accompanied by a large colony, in three ships, amply supplied with all kinds of stores, and with a royal patent as governor of Virginia. He carried back the fugitives to Jamestown, and by vigorous and wise administration he re-esta-

blished the settlement, and left it in a prosperous condition, when he was compelled by broken health to return to England. His successor, Mr. Percy, was a far less efficient governor, and the colony of Virginia suffered reverses. But it is from the time of the presidency of Captain Smith, and the assumption of the government by Lord De la Warre, in 1610, only 240 years ago, and 118 years after the discovery of America, that we may date the permanent settlement by England of North America.

During the year 1607 the Plymouth Company sent out 100 *planters* to Sagadahoc, at the mouth of the Kennebec. The most conspicuous members of this company were Sir John Popham, Chief Justice of England, Sir Ferdinand Gorges, Governor of Plymouth, and Sir John Gilbert, nephew of Sir Humphrey Gilbert. The expedition was sent out under Henry and Raleigh Popham, brothers of Sir John. The place where they settled was unfavourable, and no more than forty-five colonists remained. They endured great privations. The president, Henry Popham, and many others, died during the winter, and the remainder abandoned the colony, and returned, the next summer, to England. The Plymouth Company made no further attempts to plant a colony; and after sending out a few vessels to fish at Cape Cod, their magnificent scheme was abandoned. During the year 1609 some French adventurers wintered in a few huts on the north bank of the Lawrence, where the town of *Trois Rivières* now stands.

In 1612, martial law was introduced and enforced

in Virginia; and in the month of August of the same year six ships arrived, under the command of Sir Thomas Gates, who succeeded Sir Thomas Dale as governor. The latter, however, generously consented to remain in a subordinate office, in order to assist in extending settlements along the banks of James River. Some time after Sir George Somers was wrecked on the Bermudas, a settlement was formed on those rocky islets. Their fine climate and contiguity to Virginia rendered their situation convenient. At the same time, a lottery was opened in England, for the first time, in order to raise money for the improvement of Virginia. By this fraudulent scheme the company raised 29,000*l.*, but the House of Commons, in consequence of loud public clamours against the license which empowered the company to open a lottery, recalled that privilege, and shortly after the London Company sold the Bermudas to a new association, which obtained a royal charter under the name of "The Somers Islands Company."

In the year 1615, regulations were instituted for bestowing lands in perpetuity to the colonists, and fifty acres were granted to each emigrant; while during the same year a number of virtuous women arrived from England, and were married to husbands in the colony.

The French had, in 1606, formed a settlement within the beautiful inlet now called Annapolis, in Nova Scotia, in which they prospered rapidly during the first ten years. But this colony was most iniquitously plundered by an expedition from Virginia, com-

manded by a Captain Argal, who on his return attacked and plundered the Dutch settlement on the Island of Manhatten, now New York.

The cultivation of maize, and other grain and vegetables, the rearing of live stock, the catching of fish, which abounded in the waters, and of wild animals and birds, which they occasionally hunted for in the woods, formed the chief means of subsistence in the new Virginian settlement. But a new plant, which was cultivated with success and profit in the Spanish West Indies, was introduced, although merely to a limited extent, during the residence of Sir Thomas Dale. After his departure, its cultivation became the leading employment of the colonists; who were, in consequence, reduced to great straits from the scarcity of provisions. In their necessities they renewed their exactions for corn from the natives, and the injustice of those demands led afterwards to acts of vengeful hostility.

In 1617, the notorious Argal, a man of haughty and tyrannical temper, succeeded as governor. He renewed the enforcement of martial law with great and unnecessary severity, while his avarice at the same time rendered his government odious, and in his hypocritical pretensions to religious purity, and for the advancement of *orthodoxy* in the colony, he endeavoured to reduce to temporary servitude those who neglected to observe the ecclesiastical ordinances. The colonists were by his tyrannical administration driven nearly into rebellion, and their complaints having reached Lord De la Warre in England, that nobleman sailed for Virginia, in

order to resume the government, accompanied by a numerous suite; but he died on the voyage. Argal, however, was removed, and he was succeeded in the government by Sir George Yeardley in April, 1619. This governor wisely judged that Englishmen in America should possess all the political and civil privileges which they had enjoyed in England. He therefore granted them a constitution, with a provincial assembly. This was the first legislature instituted in the new world, and it consisted of the governor and council, and of burgesses elected by the seven towns which then existed in the colony. They assembled at Jamestown, and passed laws said to be wisely adapted to the circumstances of Virginia.

But unfortunately the introduction of this constitutional and free government was soon accompanied by an institution which down to the present day has remained a disgrace upon Virginia. It was during the same year that a Dutch ship arrived from the coast of Guinea, and anchored off Jamestown, with a cargo of slaves. The greater portion of their number was purchased by the planters; the trade being profitable it increased rapidly; and from that fatal day has the soil of Virginia been cultivated, not by free, but by slave-labour.

In the year 1620-21, the London Company engaged in a new traffic. In Virginia the male colonists greatly exceeded the number of females. Wives were wanted, and the company sent out on speculation ninety young women, attractive in their persons, and said to be virtuous in their characters. A second consignment of sixty were sent to the colony, and

the whole were sold as wives in exchange for tobacco at prices varying from 18*l.* to 22*l.* of the money of that period: tobacco being then valued at three shillings per lb. weight. Schools were soon after established in the colony, and a provincial college was also founded. But colonial difficulties arose in consequence of the absurd restrictions which limited the importation of tobacco into England; for King James had written his "counterblast against tobacco," and he accordingly gave pedantic instructions to the commissioners for "garbling the drug called tobacco;" while the officers of the customs were directed to levy "a heavy duty upon the importation of the 'pernicious weed' from America." In consequence of this limitation in the market of England for the chief article of Virginian export, the planters established a mart in Holland, where they for some time enjoyed a profitable sale for all the tobacco which they could produce. By their charter they were allowed the unlimited liberty of commerce. But the king, in order to destroy this trade, passed an ordinance directing "that all tobacco, the produce of Virginia, should be exported only direct to England, in English ships, and the duty to be paid on landing, before its consumption at home, or its re-exportation to the continent of Europe." This was in reality the first attempt at the institution of a navigation law. After reiterated complaints and petitions to the House of Commons, the dispute was finally settled by conceding to the colonists the exclusive right of importing tobacco into Great Britain on payment of a duty of 9d. per lb., and on condition that all the tobacco

grown in Virginia should be exported direct to England.*

In the year 1622, no less than eighty settlements were established in Virginia.† Those were scattered over different parts of the province; each planter, with his family and slaves, residing on an isolated plantation. Their conduct and their encroachments alarmed and excited the jealousies of the natives, who apprehended that the white men would wrest from them the soil on which they and their fathers had hunted, fished, or cultivated maize. Nor can it be overlooked that the English had at all times treated the aborigines with contumely, although one of their number, Rolfe, had married the daughter of a chieftain. The red men were, in fact, treated as if they were not members of the human family—a policy the more discreditable, that it was pursued by men who professed a love of liberty and of Christianity as the leading rule of all their actions. But the natives were, imprudently, entrusted with fire-arms, in order to kill wild animals in greater abundance, for the furs, which were readily purchased by the traders. For some time after the Indians became expert in the practice of shooting with guns, powder, and shot, they continued passive; yet they remembered every affront, watched every aggression; and several tribes conspired after the death of Powhatan, who had maintained a friendly intercourse with the English, to attack all the plantations, and to massacre the inhabitants.

* Stith's History of Virginia; Journals of the Commons; Chalmers's American Colonies, vol. i., 14, 15, 16. † Stith.

At the head of this secret conspiracy was the terrible chief Opechacanough. When the plot was matured, the Indians were distributed among the settlements with presents of fish and game. On the 22nd of March, 1622, they suddenly rose amid the scattered plantations of the English, and in less than one hour killed 347 persons, men, women, and children; and a greater number would have shared the same fate, if the colonists had not quickly armed themselves, and dispersed the assassins. But the colony lost six members of the council, and several of the most respectable and wealthy planters. In some of the plantations the whole of the settlers were exterminated. The settlements were then reduced from eighty to six in number. A dearth of food followed.*

In England the company was charged with neglecting the safety of the colony; upon which, several vessels containing a supply of arms from the Tower, together, with a quantity of provisions, were instantly despatched for America, and fortunately arrived at their destination in time to save the colonists from absolute starvation.

In the mean time the directors and proprietors of the company consisted of men, divided by political factions, and animated by party rancour. Two of their number, Sir Thomas Smith—who was noted for his arbitrary temper—and the infamous Captain Argal, manifested on all occasions an opposition to the liberties, as well as to the complaints of the Virginians; the result of which was, that in 1624 the Virginia Company was dissolved, and its authority

* Smith and Stith's Account of Virginia.

assumed by the Crown.* The affairs of Virginia were then entrusted by the king to a governor and twelve councillors, and royal proclamations were imposed as laws for the colony.

Charles I., on ascending the throne, declared that he considered the miseries of the colony to have been the result of its democratical constitution, and he resolved to execute the project of his father to direct the government of the colony solely by his royal prerogative. To these absolute maxims he joined the narrow spirit of commercial monopoly, and restrained the planters from selling their tobacco to any person, but to a few commissioners, who purchased it on account of the Crown.† He directed the governor and council to exact oaths of allegiance and supremacy from every male inhabitant in the colony. His governor, Sir John Harvey, proved a rapacious, despotic, and cruel administrator. He introduced the decrees of the Court of High Commission of England into all the ecclesiastical institutions of Virginia; and appropriated the numerous penalties and commutations to his own use. The king bestowed on several of his favourites large tracts of land in Virginia, and in one of his decrees separated Maryland from the province. The colonists were driven to a state of desperation, and the assembly which they elected in 1635 suspended the governor, and sent him prisoner to England, accompanied by two deputies, who were instructed to lay their grievances, and the maladministration of the governor, before the Crown and parliament. Charles, instead of redressing

* Parliamentary History. Stith's Virginia.
† Rymer. Chalmers.

the evils which had been inflicted by his representative, declared the colonists guilty of rebellion, and listened only to the statements of Harvey, whom he sent back to Virginia in April, 1637, invested with absolute power. Seizing on the person of the governor, and sending him as a prisoner to England, was certainly illegal; it was, however, an act of desperation. On the following year the Virginians were attacked by the Indians, who were not repulsed until 500 of the former were slain. A general war between the colonists and the native tribes followed.

Notwithstanding the arbitrary conduct of Charles towards the Virginians, the latter, although they received every encouragement from the parliament, continued firm in their loyalty to the king; but it is doubtful if their attachment would have lasted, if Charles had not recalled the governor, and appointed in his place Sir Francis Wyatt, and afterwards Sir William Berkeley. The latter, who was a man of popular and upright character, recognised at once the legislative privileges of the provincial assembly; instituted a code of laws, and the forms of the English tribunals, for the administration of justice in the province. The government of Berkeley was so successful, that the colonists attributed the privileges which they enjoyed—first, to the king, and secondly, to the representative of majesty in Virginia. But the infatuated monarch still persisted in his narrow commercial policy, and directed his governor to prohibit any trade between Virginia and any other country, excepting Great Britain.

Sir William Berkeley carried on the war with vigour against the Indians. The old chief Opecha-

canough was taken prisoner, and a peace was then concluded with the natives, by which the Virginians for many years enjoyed domestic tranquillity.* Sir William Berkeley intended to have sent the Indian chief to England, but while in prison a soldier shot him in revenge for the sufferings of the English. He was very old and nearly blind, and lingered for some days before he died of the wound.

In 1642, the Virginians declared themselves in favour of the royal cause; and in their enthusiasm pledged themselves that, "as they were born under royalty, they would never degenerate from the condition of their birth by being the subjects of any other government." During the last eight years of the reign of Charles I. they retained their loyalty for his person and government, and on his death they proclaimed Charles II., who forwarded to Sir William Berkeley a commission, dated at Breda, authorising him to continue to administer the provincial government.

Virginia was at this time in a comparatively prosperous condition. The planters were generally of genteel birth, and chiefly connected either with the Tories, or the country gentlemen of England. They were nearly all Episcopalians and all slaveholders. They detested the Puritans of Massachusetts Bay; and they were noted for the hospitality which they practised in their houses, on their plantations, and also in their towns; while they had no ideas in common with the Republicans, or those who now administered the government of England.†

* Beverley, Campbell, Chalmers.
† Chalmers; Gordon's History of America.

CHAPTER VII.

EARLY SETTLEMENT OF THE NEW ENGLAND STATES.

If the colonists who planted settlements in Virginia were loyal in their spirit, aristocratical in their manners, and devoted to the hierarchy of the English Church, those who first established a permanent settlement amidst the stern and wild country of Massachusetts Bay, were men who fled from the persecution of episcopacy, and from the tyranny of an arbitrary king. In the year 1602, observes Dr. Morse, the historian of New England, "a number of people in the counties of Nottinghamshire, Lancashire, and Yorkshire, by the preaching of the Gospel, became savingly acquainted with the truth. Their ignorance, prejudices, and errors were so far removed that they saw the vanity of their former superstitions; they sought more evangelical instruction, and a pure Church. Shaking off their antichristian chains, they resolved, whatever it should cost them, to enjoy liberty of conscience. On account of their distance from each other, they formed

themselves into two Churches."* One of those congregations, which was under the pastoral care of the Rev. Richard Clifton, was the most conspicuous; and the Rev. and celebrated Mr. Robinson afterwards became its pastor. But the spirit of persecution arose with fresh and impetuous fury against this congregation. "Besides," continues Dr. Morse, "the trial of cruel mocking, they were watched by officers; they were often imprisoned, or obliged to fly from their houses or means of subsistence. In this deplorable situation, with joint consent, they resolved to go into the Low Countries, where they heard was freedom of religion for all men. It was their lot to leave their dwellings, their lands, and relatives, to go—they knew not whither; to obtain a living,—they knew not how."†

The families of those congregations of Puritans were agriculturists; and they were consequently ignorant of the trades and employments which would enable them to obtain a subsistence in Holland. But even if they had possessed the money, and understood the occupations, which would enable them to find employment among the Dutch, they were prohibited by the laws, and by the vigilance of the spies of the hierarchy, from leaving their native country, and they were left without any prospect of being able to escape from the intolerance and persecution of the High Commission Court of Inquisition. "The strong arm of the law," says Dr. Morse, "had barred every harbour and vessel

* Compendious History of New England. By Jedediah Morse, D.D., and Rev. Elijah Parish, of Boston, New England. Reprinted, London, 1808. Page 6.

† Morse, pp. 7 and 8; Harris's Coll. Voy. ii. 230.

against them; they could effect their escape neither by secret means nor by bribing mariners; and then they were often betrayed, their property seized, and themselves punished." Ultimately, however, a number of families contrived secretly to hire a ship, the master of which agreed to take them on board on a certain day, at an appointed place on the coast of Lincolnshire. They all repaired punctually, with such effects as they could carry, to the spot fixed upon; but the ship did not appear for some time; and at last, on arriving, the master agreed to take them on board at night. In the mean time, however, he had betrayed them to the revenue officers, and other agents of the government, who seized upon the unhappy passengers, and carried them ashore in boats; confiscated all their goods; and, after searching their persons, and treating the women with rude indelicacy, had them all conveyed to the town of Boston, where they were exposed to the scoffs of a mob, who congregated from curiosity to see them. They were then conducted to the magistrates, who imprisoned them for a month. Most of them were then sent back to their former habitations; but the principal men were detained in prison, and the others bound to appear at the next assizes.

On the following year, a number of these Puritans arranged with a Dutch shipmaster to take them on board at an appointed spot, near an uninhabited common, some distance from Grimsby. The women, children, and goods, were sent round in a small barque; but, arriving before the Dutch ship, they entered a creek for shelter, where the barque grounded. The Dutch shipmaster, in the mean

time, took on board most of the men who travelled to the place on foot; and, while waiting for the barque with the women and children, he observed a large armed force of dragoons and infantry approaching the rendezvous; upon which, he immediately weighed anchor, and, with a fair wind, sailed for Holland. A storm came on: the men were thus separated from their wives, without any change of clothing, and without money; and they were driven by the tempest to the coast of Norway. A few of the men remained with the women, in the most deplorable condition, without food or a home; but, by the assistance of friends, they were finally enabled to cross the sea to Holland, where their husbands and brethren had previously arrived, after encountering a boisterous voyage from the shores of Norway. With the women and children, their ministers, Mr. Robinson and Mr. Brewster, arrived; and, under them, the English were soon after established at Leyden, where, by their piety, industry, and punctuality, they secured the confidence of the Dutch so far, that they were not only employed, but money was lent them, on their bare word, with confidence. The English, however, found that Holland was not then a safe country for a permanent residence; for Spain still claimed dominion over all the Low Countries. The majority of the Puritans, therefore, resolved to remove to America. Some held out in favour of proceeding to Guiana, on account of the warmth of its climate, the fertility of its soil, and the facility of procuring the means of subsistence. But there again, the neighbourhood of the Spaniards, and the unhealthiness of a tropical climate, were urged as

insuperable objections. Then, with respect to Virginia, it was contended that they would be liable to the same persecutions as in England. Finally, however, they resolved to remove, and form a distinct settlement, to the north of Chesapeake Bay, at the mouth of Hudson River, which had been discovered, and derived its name from an Englishman;* and then, by their friends, to sue his Majesty for their liberty and freedom of religion. An application was accordingly made, through the agency of two persons whom they sent to England, for a grant of land from the London Company. But on their petitioning James I. for religious freedom, they were absolutely refused any privilege beyond those already enjoyed by the people of England; even although his majesty was urged by one of his chief secretaries of state, as well as by the leading members of the London Company, to accede to their application. At last, the king intimated that he would not give any promise, but would engage "not to disturb them when they conducted themselves peaceably."†

Meantime the London Company urged them to proceed; the agents returned to Holland, and the Puritans decided on removing to America, "resting in God's Providence, as they had done in other things." Two years were, however, spent in negotiating with the London Company, from whom a patent was finally obtained in 1619, granting the emigrants much the same privileges as had been granted by

* Henry Hudson, who discovered the great bay that bears his name, but in which he perished, having been set adrift in a boat by the crew of his ship.

† Morse. Records of Massachusetts Bay.

the king to that association. But this patent, obtained at great expense and anxious labour, proved useless. Two vessels were then chartered, one of 180 tons in England, and another of 60 tons in Holland. The greater number of the English Puritans left the comfortable city of Leyden, where they had resided in peace and happiness for twelve years. They sailed from Delfthaven, after parting with great regret from their kind Dutch friends; and at Southampton they all embarked on board of the larger ship, in which were several other Nonconformists. They sailed on the 6th of September; and, after a stormy passage, crowded closely in a single ship, they reached the coast of America; and on the 9th of November came in view of the low, barren, and sandy shores of Cape Cod. Two days afterwards they rounded that headland, and anchored within its harbour. But this was at a great distance north of their intended place of settlement, at the mouth of the Hudson River. Afterwards, however, it was alleged by the New England annalists that, as the Dutch intended to colonise the whole of the country watered by that river, they not only induced the commander of the ship to delay his departure from England, but to sail for some of the ports further north, and, in consequence of the approaching winter, to discourage the emigrants from removing to Hudson's river.

The harbour in which they anchored was sufficiently commodious and well sheltered, but the whole country around was sterile and sandy. It was also beyond the limits of the patent which they had obtained from the London Company. This

was eventually fortunate; the results have proved remarkable, and have astonished the world. Before landing, the emigrants signed a covenant as the basis of the government which they bound themselves to institute, and this covenant or abstract was as follows:—"In the name of God, Amen. We, whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread Sovereign Lord King James, by the Grace of God of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith:

"Having undertaken, for the Glory of God, and the advancement of the Christian Faith, and the honour of our King and Country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia, do by these presents solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God and one another, consort and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic for our better ordering and preservation, and the furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by virtue hereof to execute, constitute, and form such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought best, meet, and convenient for the general good of the colony; unto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our name, at Cape Cod, the 11th day of November, in the year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord King James of England, France, and Ireland, the eighteenth, of Scotland the fifty-fourth. Anno Domini, 1620."*

This instrument was signed by twenty-four heads of families, stating the number of their respective

* Records of Massachusetts, formerly in the Board of Trade.

families, and by seventeen unmarried men, making in the whole, 101 souls.

Under this contract they instituted regulations for their settlement; and they elected John Carver as their first governor for one year. Many of the emigrants, however, were in a sickly condition. One of their number had died, and one child, christened Oceana, was born during the voyage. Their situation was rendered miserable from the coldness of the season, their ignorance of the country, and the bad quality and insufficient quantity of their provisions. But, as their historian observes, "they fell on their knees, with hearty prayers to God, who had been their assurance when far off on the sea. They were utterly in a new world; they saw whales sporting in the water; and on the land they beheld oaks, pines, sassafras, juniper, and other sweet wood shading their harbour; and greater plenty of birds than they had ever seen flew around them."* On the day they landed, they sent forth an armed party to explore the country, but on returning at night they reported that they had discovered nothing but water, wood, and sandhills. The next day was the Sabbath, and they remained on shipboard, and attended only to the duties of religion. They landed on the following Monday, and brought on shore such clothing as required washing, and they also began to repair a large boat in order to explore the coast.

Two days afterwards, while one of their men, Captain Myles Standish, was exploring the country with a party of sixteen men well armed, he observed five of the natives, who fled. He followed them

* Morse, p. 16.

for about ten miles, but darkness overtaking the party, they kindled a fire and rested for the night. On the following day, while they continued exploring the coast, they met with several heaps or mounds of sand, which they supposed to be the graves of the Indians. In one spot, they found a quantity of maize in a large basket buried under a sand-heap. They took possession of the corn and a kettle, for which they afterwards paid the owners; and they now retraced their steps to the ship. A Mrs. White was delivered of a son a few days afterwards.*

Before the 1st of December, the surface of the earth was covered with snow, which did not, however, prevent them from exploring the country still further north, in their boat or shallop. In this voyage they discovered several spots of land which had been cultivated; and also a burying-ground enclosed within palisades. They however did not venture to sleep on shore,—a fortunate precaution, for early on the following morning they were attacked by the natives, who shot several arrows at them, which they accompanied by terrific yells; but on the English firing two or three guns the savages fled.

The party continued to explore the coast until the 17th of December, when they arrived at the place which they afterwards fixed upon for their first settlement. It was within a sheltered but shallow harbour; the surrounding land was deemed fertile; and, with the exception of some spots which

* He was christened Peregrine, and died at the age of 84, in July, 1704.

had been cultivated as maize fields, the country was covered with oaks, pines, walnut-trees, sassafras, and various other trees and shrubs.

On the 20th of December, the ship, with all the emigrants, arrived at this spot, which they named Plymouth; and, "after landing and viewing the place again as well as they could, they came to the conclusion by most voices to settle on the mainland, on a high ground which had been planted with corn three or four years before, where is a sweet brook, and many delicate springs of good water." Twenty of the emigrants remained on shore during the first night; but the weather for the two following days was so tempestous that it was impossible for those on board ship to communicate with the people on shore. On Saturday, the 23rd of December, they began to cut down trees, and to build cottages; and by the 19th of February, each family was provided with a dwelling. In the mean time, however, their sufferings were great. The frosts were unusually severe, and the weather remarkably boisterous. Food was scarce; and they were during this severe winter exposed to the tempest and the cold. Before the end of December, six of their number died, and others were afflicted with diseases, of which they never recovered.

During the dreary months of January and February, imaginary terrors, as well as real dangers, surrounded them. It was not the first time that English adventurers resorted to the same coast; but it was the first instance of a body of men, women, and children, taking up their abode during a tempestuous season, close to the roaring ocean, on the verge of

the gloomy, unexplored wilderness, and surrounded by wild tribes, who had been already grievously injured by the white man. They stood, too, on ground marked with the signs of desolation and calamity. Here and there were the graves of a departed race, and there lay scattered in various places the bleached remains of human skeletons.

Thirteen years before, forty-five emigrants had passed a winter near the mouth of the river Sagahadoc. They entrenched themselves within a strong wooden fort; but during the severe winter several of their number, including their governor, Henry Popham, perished; and in the spring the remainder returned to England in a vessel which had arrived with supplies. Those colonists were unfortunate in having for a first patron the judge who had condemned to death a man who was held in the proudest esteem by all those who had ever adventured to America. The character of Popham was not only at all times odious and partial as a judge, but his conduct towards Raleigh was marked with extreme injustice and cruel severity.

Six years after the failure of the settlement at Sagahadoc, and after the death of Popham and Sir John Gilbert, Captain Smith was again induced by the Plymouth Company to visit America. On this occasion, he explored the whole coast from Cape Cod to the river Penobscot,—drew a chart of his discoveries, and travelled over some parts of the interior. It was on his return to England, that, on presenting an account of his travels with this chart to Prince Charles, the latter gave the country explored by Smith the name of New England. But

the spirit of emigration was much retarded by the disasters of the first colony, together with the treachery of Captain Hunt, who had remained trading in the country, and who had inveigled twenty-four of the natives on board of his ship, whom, with the rest of his cargo, he sold at Malaga, in Spain; and from whence they were, all but one, who escaped, carried as slaves to the Spanish West Indies. This act of atrocious perfidy was long remembered by the aborigines of Massachusetts Bay.

The Indians were now, however, greatly thinned by a pestilence, which broke forth among them three or four years before, and which, in its ravages, carried away more than half of the Penobscots, and other aborigines who dwelt along the shores of Massachusetts Bay. On the very spot which the Pilgrim Fathers now occupied, and near which the natives had cultivated extensive fields for the growth of maize, every soul, without distinction of age or sex, was destroyed by contagion, and by the vengeance of a hostile tribe.

The emigrants were impressed by other fears, as well as that of being attacked by the savages. They dreaded wild animals; and on one occasion two of their number, who, in the month of January, had strayed in the forest, declared that they had heard during the night the roaring of lions; but no lion has ever been found in America, and at that season they could not have heard the noise of any animal, unless it had been the howling of wolves. The latter part of the season was remarkably mild, and by the 3rd of March singing-birds enlivened the woods;

thunder and warm rain came on; but before this time, out of the 101 persons who had landed in America, forty-six perished by fevers, brought on by cold, bad lodgings, and unwholesome food.

Whatever may be said in disparagement of the religious zeal of the Pilgrim Fathers, they certainly cannot be accused of hypocrisy; for it was their faith alone that inspired them with that fortitude which sustained them during their hard sufferings, and in the face of the most disheartening terrors. The position of the colonists in that wild and solitary region,—with no European settlement nearer than that of the French at Port Royal, in Acadia, and of the few Dutch traders on the banks of the Hudson, the nearest being distant 200 miles,—was helpless and dreary beyond parallel; and especially in an inclement season, which rendered it impossible for them to obtain any protection or food. They could neither find relief or security within the mysterious solitudes of an awful forest, nor could they retrace their way by the ocean. Here, however, surrounded with objects of terror, and without those articles of food and convenience, which were necessary to maintain their bodies, or cheer their spirits, were congregated a few families of expatriated Christians, who dared not return to their native land, where they well knew they would be subjected to cruel punishment for conscientious nonconformity, and for having attempted to escape from a country where they had been wickedly persecuted. They were neither protected by the sovereign of England, nor were they within the precincts of the Virginian patent; and, if they survived their present sufferings,

they had not even the promise that they would be left to the enjoyment of religious or political freedom in the wilderness, amidst which their lot was cast. At one time there was not among their whole number more than five persons able to attend those who lay prostrate in sickness. But a number did survive, who laid the foundation of a mighty state, and whose memory will ever rank pre-eminent in the annals of Anglo-America.

James I. having heard of the depopulation of the aborigines in this part of New England, had, soon after the departure of the Pilgrim Fathers, determined to take possession, for his own benefit, of that country; and he accordingly, on certain conditions, granted a patent for its settlement to the Duke of Lennox, the Marquises of Buckingham and Hamilton, the Earls of Arundel and Warwick, Sir Francis Gorges, and thirty-four others, and to their heirs and successors, as the Council of Plymouth, for the planting, ruling, ordering, and governing all New England and America, which country was laid down as extending from the 40th to the 48th degree of north latitude, and which grant would include all the regions of America north of Philadelphia: that is to say, nearly all Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, all the New England States, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Cape Breton, a great portion of Newfoundland, and the island now called Prince Edward. This was certainly a sweeping grant of territory, nearly the whole of which had then never been seen by any Englishman. By this patent, or charter, the patentees were invested with the administration and jurisdiction over all those countries, and they

were empowered to exclude all others from fishing along the sea coasts, or in the inland waters, and from trading or planting within their boundaries. The patent also authorised the governor, proprietors, and freemen of the company, to enact all such necessary laws as were not repugnant to those of England; but the other provisions of this instrument were more adapted to mere trading adventurers than to a colonising association.

In December, 1623, the south-east sea coast, for ten miles of Massachusetts Bay, was granted to Robert Gorges, his heirs, and his assigns. The colony of Plymouth, however, remained unmolested for some time. Towards the middle of March, in the ensuing spring, the colonists were in no small degree astonished by a visit from a native Indian of large stature and strong appearance, who advanced quietly to their habitations, and, addressing them in broken English, held out to them a welcome to remain in the country, stating that he was a Sagamore, or chief, that his name was Massasoit, and that his residence, or camp, lay at a distance of five days' journey. A short apron was his only attire, and he carried a bow and two arrows. He, however, imparted minute, and, as it proved, correct information respecting the country, and he stated that the tribes who had inhabited the districts surrounding their settlement had all perished four years before. The colonists presented him with a coat, ring, bracelet, and knife, and he returned shortly afterwards, bringing five other natives with him. One of these, named Squanto, had been carried off by Hunt; but he escaped from Spain in a vessel bound for England, whence he was brought by the traders

to Massachusetts Bay. A friendly intercourse was soon opened and concluded with Massasoit.

In the month of April, George Carver died. He was one of those men who had left a goodly estate in England, in order to enjoy religious liberty in Holland and in America, and he was highly extolled for his bravery, humility, and piety. His successor, Governor Bradford, sent an embassy to Massasoit, for the double purpose of exploring the country, and to carry presents to, and ratify a league with, that Sagamore. A treaty of peace and friendship was then entered into with Massasoit, who also induced nine other chiefs to become parties to a general league, which was concluded on the 13th of September, 1621. The conduct of the Pilgrim Fathers in their negotiations with the surrounding tribes proves that their principles were peaceful and just; while by their industry, during the summer and autumn of this year, they were enabled to gather a harvest of tolerable wheat, and of excellent maize. They also caught a great abundance of fish; and wild fowl were remarkably plentiful, and constituted a delicious variety of food.

In November, the colony received an increase of thirty-five emigrants, who arrived in a ship from England; but this vessel being short of provisions, and receiving a supply on returning, not only reduced the stock at Plymouth, but the increased consumption by the new colonists, who required to be maintained out of the remainder, created such a scarcity, that for three months before the end of the following winter the food of the colonists consisted only of fish and water. The chief of the Naraganset Indians had threatened the settlement with extinc-

tion; but the English had, before winter, enclosed their little town within a strong wooden stockade; besides which, they erected a small fort, mounted with cannon, on a hill commanding the town, and during this period they were aided in all their intercourse with the Indians by the native Squanto.

Governor Bradford continued on friendly terms with the natives, making it a maxim not to take possession of any part of the land claimed by them, until he obtained the same by purchase.* For the first two years the colonists laboured in common; but, in 1623, in order that each should be induced to labour for his own subsistence, it was agreed that each should cultivate his own plot of ground.

In July, 1623, they were joined by a number of new colonists, who arrived with supplies in two ships; in one of these Mr. Winslow was sent to England as agent for the colonies. He returned in the month of March following, bringing with him three heifers and a bull, which, with a few goats, swine, and poultry, in a few years replenished the settlement with live stock. But the total number of settlers at the end of the year 1624 did not exceed 180; and they all lived within the stockade of the village, which was about half a mile in circumference.

The relentless persecutions of Archbishop Laud, in England, prevented thirty-five families, who remained in Leyden, from returning to their native

* Dr. Morse says that, "in the spring of 1623, Massasoit fell sick, and sent intelligence to the governor, who immediately sent Mr. Winslow and *Mr. John Hampden* [?] (the same who afterwards distinguished himself by his opposition to the arbitrary and unjust demands of Charles I.), to pay him a visit."

land; and they accordingly sailed for America, and arrived in Massachusetts in 1629. These were followed by great numbers from England, who were driven to emigrate from the unbearable tyranny of that intolerant prelate. From the year 1626 till 1630, the emigration of the Nonconformists to Massachusetts continued almost without intermission.

In 1627, a patent, granting a greater extension of the plantations, was obtained by the colonists, who had now increased to above 300 souls. But, notwithstanding their unjust treatment by the Plymouth Company, the settlement at Massachusetts prospered, and the colonists increased. Various purchases of land were made from the company by private individuals; among others, by the Pyms and Hampdens; and Charles I. was finally induced to grant the New Englanders a charter of incorporation, under the name of "The Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay and New England," with the same powers as those enjoyed by any other corporate body in England. It was granted to Henry Roswell and others. The executive power was invested in the governor, the deputy-governor, and eighteen assistants; the first governor, deputy-governor, and assistants, being named in the charter, which also provided that they should be elected annually. The legislative power was vested in the governor, deputy-governor, the assistants, and freemen of the company, who were required to meet on the last Wednesday of each of the four annual terms, under the title of a General Court, "to enact laws and ordinances for the good of the body politic, and good of the plan-

tations and habitations, provided they were not repugnant to the laws and statutes of England." Mathew Craddock was elected first governor, and Thomas Goffe deputy-governor. In 1627, Captain John Endicott brought 100 colonists to Massachusetts, who founded the settlement at Salem, of which he was appointed the first governor. Two hundred more arrived in the following year, and settled under Governor Endicott, at Naumkeag, near the Salem plantation; but nearly 100 of these removed shortly afterwards to Charlestown, now a suburb of Boston. The governor and deputy-governor appointed by the company having failed, however, to sail for the colony, Mr. Endicott acted as their agent or representative over the plantations. But this arrangement, which required the consent of the corporation in England to all acts, was found exceedingly inconvenient. At that period, the voyages to and from America were tedious and uncertain; and accordingly, on the 29th of August, 1629, the general court in England, finding they could not induce men of property to emigrate to the colony, consented that the patent should be transferred, and the government of the corporation removed from London to Massachusetts Bay. It was also agreed that the members of the corporation who remained in England should retain an interest in the trading stock for seven years; but, as the company never engaged in trade, of course no dividend was ever declared.

In the month of October, John Winthrop was appointed governor, John Humphreys deputy-governor, together with eighteen assistants. But

Humphreys refused to leave London, and Thomas Dudley was appointed in his place. In the spring of 1630, Mr. Winthrop and his associates, with about 1500 emigrants, embarked from various parts of England, in eleven ships, and at an expense of more than 21,000*l.* They all arrived safely in New England, with the first and only charter under which Massachusetts was really governed, until they obtained another from William III., after the revolution of 1688. But those fortunate circumstances were accompanied with painful and discouraging calamities. Of the 300 settlers at Salem and Charlestown, no less than 80 had died during the preceding winter; and the new emigrants, arriving too late in the summer to sow corn and other crops, great scarcity and disease followed. No less than 200 of their number died before the month of December. One of them was a lady of rank, who accompanied her husband, and, as it was said, "came from a paradise of plenty and pleasure—from the family of a noble earl, into a wilderness of want." One hundred of the emigrants who accompanied Governor Winthrop, disheartened at these calamities, returned to England.

In the end of July, 1630, a formal contract was entered into between Governor Winthrop, Lieutenant-Governor Dudley, and two ministers, for the purpose of laying the foundation of a church in Charlestown; and in August of the same year the first Court of Assistants was held at the same place, on board one of the ships. Various regulations were instituted for the administration of the government, and for the maintenance of religion; justices of peace and other officers were appointed

by the court; and an act of punishment was shortly after inflicted upon an offender, in public, in order to impress the natives with a sense of the determined justice of the colonists. One Morton, having stolen a canoe from the Indians, he was sentenced to be put in the *bilboes*, and then sent back to England. All his goods were seized in order to pay for the canoe and to defray the charges of his transportation, while his house was, at the same time, burnt down to the ground in the presence of the natives. To three different settlements were now given the respective names of Boston, Dorchester, and Watertown.

Provisions still continued scarce in the colony, and the winter of 1630-31 was passed with great privations. In the spring of 1631 it was enacted by the court, "That the governor and magistrates should ever after be chosen by the *freemen alone;* that none should be admitted to the freedom of the company but such as were "*chosen members*," who had certificates from the ministers that they were of orthodox principles, and that none but freemen should vote at elections, or act as magistrates or jurors."

This intolerant law remained in force for twenty-three years, when it was abolished by a writ of *quo warranto.* The number of colonists now rapidly increased; a new colony was formed at Newbury; and there existed no less than ten churches or congregations in Massachusetts.

In the year 1633, Charles I. issued a proclamation, directing that all the ships then lying in the Thames with emigrants for New England should

be detained. But, in the face of this injunction, twelve to fourteen ships, filled with emigrants, sailed from various ports for New England; and among the number of distinguished passengers was Sir Henry Vane the younger, who was next year elected governor of Massachusetts. Mr. Cotton and several other ministers also arrived by those ships. In April, 1634, twenty-four deputies were elected by the freemen as their representatives. On their assembling, it was resolved that four general courts should be held yearly, summoned by the governor for the time being, and not to be dissolved but by a majority of the court; that it should be lawful for the freemen of each plantation to choose two or three persons, before any general court, to confer with them in regard to the business to be considered at the next court; and that the persons so chosen by the freemen, should have full powers to make and establish laws, grant lands, and to act in all the other affairs of government wherein freemen had an interest, magistrates only excepted; and that every freeman had the right to give his voice in elections, or by his representative.

The legislative body thus organised remained unaltered (with the exception that in 1644 the number of courts were reduced from four to two) until 1684, when the charter was abrogated. This was the second house of representatives that had assembled in America—that of Virginia having met fourteen years before. In forming a code of laws, the government of New England adopted the Books of Moses as the basis of their legal system; and they even introduced an article in their "Bill of

Rights," requiring that any defect in their jurisprudence should be referred to no authority but the Word of God.

Making every allowance for the peculiar country and circumstances of the Jews, we believe that in the most extravagant flights of human absurdity nothing more injudicious than the Mosaic laws could be adopted for a race of Englishmen planting colonies in America. Under the New England code, or Blue Laws, capital and criminal punishments were multiplied to a degree of severity unexampled in Europe; and by those laws the number of actual crimes in the calendar were greatly increased. Witchcraft, adultery, blasphemy, smiting a parent, stubborn conduct in a son, rape, cursing, sodomy, bestiality, rebellion, conspiracy, bearing false witness, arson, notorious immorality, and murder, were all equally punished with death; while several offences of a secondary nature were rendered capital on repetition; and if committed on the Sabbath the case was considered greatly aggravated by that circumstance. Those laws had for their object an exemplary purity of morals and religion, aiming at the more perfect action of the members of society, and including all the social relations. There were also sumptuary and various other regulations, the breach of which were punished in various ways; and the torture was even provided as a punishment in this abominable code. Power was likewise given to creditors over their debtors, to sell the latter for payment of their debt. Besides the great evils which must result from such a code, there were great defects in the constitution of the colony; for the governor and his assistants

constituted the judicial tribunal; and the house of representatives also claimed and exercised a share of the judicial authority. But it was ultimately decided, that in making laws the house of representatives, and the court of the governor and assistants, should vote separately. It was at the same time resolved that hereditary rights to property should be abolished, and that all children should have an equal division of the property of their parents; and thus the system of annual elections, and the equal distribution of property, formed the two great pillars of the republican constitution of Massachusetts. Accordingly, in 1641, all lands were declared free from fines, alienation, heriots, lordships, and all other feudal exactions. It was also enjoined that hospitality and succour should be tendered to all Christian strangers who sought in the colony a refuge from the oppressor. But in 1637 they passed an intolerant and uncharitable law, which prohibited any person from settling within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts without the sanction of the magistrates. This almost reached to a negation of the preceding injunction to hospitality; for it was understood that the magistrates should not permit the settlement of any who differed from the Puritans in their religious tenets.

Plantations were also a little before this time established in New Hampshire and Maine. But there was yet no manifestation of that spirit of commerce which subsequently broke out with so much vigour, and passion for adventure, among the New Englanders. Their *laws were not commercial; they were religious;* and an act was passed in 1646 which set forth, "If any one shall contemptuously treat the

Gospel preached, or a faithful preacher in any congregation, or the like, or cast reproach on the doctrine of the minister, he shall for the first offence be reproved by the magistrates, and bound for his good behaviour; for the second offence he shall pay 5*l.* into the public treasury, or stand four hours on a block four feet high, with this placard fixed on his breast: 'An open and obstinate contemner of God's holy ordinance.'" Fines were also imposed for not attending public worship on the Sabbath, and on the fast and thanksgiving days appointed by authority.

Saybroke, within Long Island, was settled by a body of emigrants sent out by Lord Saye and Seale in 1634, and on the following year 100 men, women, and children, from the villages of Dorchester, Cambridge, and Watertown, in Massachusetts Bay, removed, by a weary journey across the wilderness, to Connecticut, where they formed a settlement. In consequence of their provisions, which were sent round by sea, having been lost in stormy weather, those settlers endured great privations from scarcity of food.

Another colony was settled at Newhaven, and from this period the settlements of Connecticut continued to increase and flourish. Subsequently, they formed themselves into a distinct government, and passed various laws for the regulation of their internal affairs: one of those laws rendered it an offence to indulge in the use of tobacco, which was held out to be "a heinous transgression." The General Court of Newhaven afterwards became remarkable for its intolerance towards the Quakers,

whom they described as a "cursed sect of heretics lately sprung up in the world." Among the punishments were that of branding on the hand with a letter "H" (heretic), imprisonment, and hard labour; branding on the other hand, and imprisonment, according to the number of offences; and for the fourth it was directed that the tongue should be bored through with a red-hot iron, together with imprisonment and hard labour.*

Two remarkable earthquakes occurred after the settlement of New England by the Puritans; the one in 1627, and the other in 1638. In 1639, the College of Cambridge was founded "for the benefit of posterity, dreading an illiterate ministry when the learned ministers they then enjoyed should sleep in dust;" and from the first settlement of the New England colonies careful provision was made for the pious and useful education of youth.

In 1640, emigration to New England appears to have ceased, in consequence of the civil war in Britain, which for a time ended the persecutions of the Puritans. The total number of settlers alive in New England of all who had arrived in the course of twenty years, in 290 ships, was now estimated at 4000 families, numbering 21,000 persons; and the money expended in their emigration and settlement at 192,000*l.*, including the sums paid for lands to the Sachem of the country, and to the Plymouth Company.

Notwithstanding the absurdities of the Blue Laws, wisdom and justice generally prevailed

* This law was annulled at the Restoration in 1660. It had been in force also in Virginia, as well as that against witchcraft.

within the New England settlements, although afterwards disturbed by religious intolerance, and by violent disputes regarding ambiguous doctrines.

In May, 1643, the four New England colonies, Plymouth, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Newhaven, entered into a confederacy of mutual defence and offence. They excluded Rhode Island, for having proclaimed for Charles II. This covenant was declared to be a perfect league, offensive and defensive; but each colony was to retain its separate jurisdiction, and no two were to unite without the consent of the other two, nor any other colony to be admitted into the confederacy without a joint consent of the four. In this confederacy, the expense of all wars was to be sustained by each state in proportion to the numbers of its male inhabitants between the ages of sixteen and sixty years. On the demand of any three magistrates in any one of the colonies (on giving notice of foreign aggression), Massachusetts was immediately to furnish 100 men, and each of the other states 45 men, and each of the four a greater number if the same should be necessary. Yearly meetings of commissioners were to be held in rotation at the four towns of Boston, Hartford, Newhaven, and Plymouth, with the exception of two yearly meetings in succession to be held at Boston. Extraordinary meetings were to be summoned in cases of danger.

Such was the condition of the New England colonies, which had grown strong and prosperous, before the death of Charles I. They had governed themselves, both in their religious and civil affairs, from the arrival of the first Pilgrim Fathers to the death of Charles I., in the name of the king, but in

reality as a commonwealth, with elective governors and magistrates.

In the West Indies the English took possession of Barbadoes early in the year 1605, in the name of James, King of England, who some years afterwards granted the whole island to Lord Ley, afterwards Earl of Marlborough. It was first settled in the year 1624, under William Deane, the governor, who founded Jamestown, and at the expense of Sir William Courteen, merchant of London. James Hay, Earl of Carlisle, at the same time commenced planting a colony in the island of St. Christopher. This nobleman obtained a patent which destroyed the rights of Sir William Courteen in Barbadoes; and although the planters sent out by the London Association in July, 1628, found Courteen's settlers in a flourishing condition, they were during the following year compelled to submit to Lord Carlisle's governor, Sir William Tufton. Barbadoes continued to prosper, and in the year 1650 it was estimated that there were 20,000 Englishmen on the island, half of whom were well armed, and possessed a regiment of horse. They, like the colonists of Virginia, therefore, held out for royalty, and proclaimed Charles II. as their sovereign.

Montserrat, Anguila, St. Christopher, Antigua, and the Bahamas, were taken possession of; but they were insignificant settlements when the government Commonwealth was established in England.

Notwithstanding the deplorable failures of the first attempts at settlement in Virginia, and the almost incredible sufferings of the first New England colonists, multitudes continued afterwards to expatriate themselves, in order to find in distant countries

those liberties, or those enjoyments, which they in reality did not, or could not, possess at home, or of which they fancied themselves destitute.

Each annual emigration increased the succeeding year's number of those who left Europe for America. For according as men were driven from England, Scotland, and Ireland, either by the goadings of poverty, or by disabilities on account of religious scruples, and the love of civil liberty, it was natural and common for them to remove to those parts of America where some of their friends or neighbours had previously gone.

The hatred of arbitrary power, either in a political or religious form, was certainly the predominant cause of the emigrations that peopled Anglo-America. Its rapid settlement was caused in a much greater degree by the persecutions and disabilities which drove the Puritans to New England, the Quakers to Pennsylvania, and the Catholics to Maryland, than by the mere spirit of adventure, or the more pressing considerations which urge men to escape from the evils of poverty.

The privations which the early colonists endured, and the hardships to which circumstances connected with a wilderness country subjected them, were severe in a degree; of which those who now plant themselves in America, or who go well provided and in security to Australia, Van Dieman's Land, or New Zealand, can have only the most feeble conception. They had not only to suffer the miseries of hunger, and the want of almost every convenience to which they had been accustomed in England, but they were harassed, and often murdered by the Indians, and at all times exposed, with their

families, to be massacred or burnt in their dwellings.

The winters were either much more severe than at present, or the sufferings of the first settlers made them describe the frosts as more intense, the snows deeper, and the duration of cold much longer.

The non-existence of roads, the want of boats, or even, for some time, of canoes, and the emigrants' ignorance in the management of the latter, rendered it a business of great difficulty to pass from one part to another of a country covered with thick forests and intersected with rivers, lakes, and branches of the ocean. The use of the axe, also, or the art of chopping, is an acquirement indispensable in a wooded country, with which most new settlers are unacquainted. With this tool, a gun, one or two hoes, and a pot, the American backwoodsman will make his way through, or plant himself and family in the midst of, a most dreary forest, and secure at the same time the means of subsistence.

Innumerable, indeed, were the miseries which emigrants had to reconcile themselves to for several years, after the early settlement of Anglo-America; and it certainly required in them more than ordinary resolution and fortitude to establish themselves, in defiance of, not only real, but imaginary difficulties.

Although the British possessions in America were, in some respects, naturally inferior to those of other Europeans, yet the greater security of property—the more liberal treatment on the part of the home government,—the superior intelligence and skill of the colonists, and the genius of their religion,—established and advanced their prosperity on a more solid foundation.

The majority of the first settlers consisted of hardy yeomen, and men of education, rank, and enterprise; who, on leaving England, forsook their homes, and those comforts that are only found in old countries, and also those attachments that are most dear to the human bosom. But these circumstances alone are not sufficient to do justice to their courage and magnanimity. The victories they obtained over all the complicated hardships that can assail the heart and stagger the fortitude of man, exalt their character, in the estimation of those who value facts rather than military splendour, to a rank equally illustrious as that of the greatest people in history.

They carried with them to America resolute hearts and intelligent understandings, and that unconquerable spirit of perseverance which surmounts the numberless difficulties that await all great undertakings.

The success attending the actions of such men astonished Europe. Their industry and indefatigable activity insured their prosperity; their improvements in all the useful arts did honour to their ingenuity; and it must not be forgotten that, notwithstanding their peculiar circumstances, and the occupations they followed, they were, from the first foundation of their settlements, particularly careful to provide for the education of their children.

The Commonwealth having reduced all Great Britain and Ireland to obedience and tranquillity, the council of state decided that the plantations in America and the West Indies should acknowledge the authority of the new government.

The four New England colonies joyfully acknowledged the Commonwealth of England. Virginia and the British settlements in the West Indies were reduced by a fleet, commanded by Sir George Ayscough, after some resistance made in Barbadoes by the governor, Lord Willoughby. Rhode Island submitted with little resistance. The Channel Islands and Scilly were also brought to obedience, and occupied by the officers of the Commonwealth. The Isle of Man and Latham House, defended by the illustrious Tremouille, Countess of Derby, were the last places which surrendered, and thus, in a short time after the overthrow of Royalty, the Church, and the House of Peers, a vigorous yet usurped government brought under its absolute authority, and reduced to peace and obedience to the laws and its decrees, the whole of the British Empire in Europe and America.*

* I have, in the above narrative of the colonisation of Virginia and New England, relied chiefly on official records; for there are numerous absurdities and superstitious fallacies in the early printed accounts. Captain Smith's are the most correct with respect to Virginia,—Hakluyt and Purchas abound in the marvellous. I have consulted most of the existing histories and descriptions. There is valuable information, mixed with bad logic and intolerant fallacies, in Governor Hutchison's History of Massachusetts Bay, in Dr. Douglass' Summary, in Cotton Matther, and other works. Dr. Morse is the best of the early New England historians.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE COMMONWEALTH AND THE FOREIGN STATES OF EUROPE.

THE governments of France, Spain, the German Empire, and the Papacy, viewed the civil war in Great Britain and Ireland as tending not then to destroy sovereign power, but to weaken British strength, industry, and trade, and to divide and enfeeble the Protestants. They imagined, with the probability of the usual effects of domestic war and bloodshed, that England would exhaust her strength, and that her power and arrogance would disappear in the strife and expense of a war in which the rage of faction and zeal of religious fanaticism rendered the Royalists and the Republicans desperate and merciless. But when an hereditary king was deposed, tried, and beheaded by his subjects, it was natural that the absolute sovereigns and profligate courts of Europe were alarmed by the atrocious precedent, and astonished at the stern authority exercised by men who had boldly and successfully usurped the power of three kingdoms. Yet such was the condition of each of the first-rate states of Europe, that, although

they might cherish the desire, they had not the power to attack the government of the Commonwealth. Therefore the German Empire, France, Spain, and even Sweden — which was then a conspicuous and formidable power—remained passive as regarded England; not only after the death of Charles I., but during the last years of his reign. Yet it was impossible that absolute and hereditary governments could entertain any other than hostile sentiments towards a new Commonwealth government, and new republican administration, amidst the European monarchical system. Venice, Switzerland, and Holland, might be considered exceptions to the general rule; but the first was severe, haughty, and oligarchical; and neither in a condition to extend support, or to give warlike offence to England. The second was a congregation of republics—some of them, as Berne, oligarchical—and others, as the forest cantons, democratic; while the geographical position of the Swiss cantons rendered either their friendship or their enmity of no importance to England. But the United Provinces had just, by the peace of Westphalia, become independent of the sovereignty of Spain; and the naval power of Holland, at this period, was superior to that of England, and her commerce was far more extensive. It would have been the interest of the two republics to have maintained mutual peace, reciprocal good-will, and free navigation and trade. But, on the contrary, mutual jealousies arose, and Holland was divided into two powerful factions. The one was the party of William II., Prince of Orange, stadtholder of the United Provinces, and brother-in-law to Charles II.

This prince and his party were favourable to the Stuart dynasty; and William invited his brother-in-law Charles to reside at the Hague. This Prince of Orange was an ambitious, energetic, and able ruler. He was even suspected of the design of subverting the Dutch republic,—of changing the United Provinces into a kingdom, and making himself a royal sovereign.

Charles, when Prince of Wales, prevailed on this prince and the States-General to send an ambassador to London, in order to mediate between the parliament and Charles I. But the men who then directed the councils of England were so well acquainted with the power of the faction or party which opposed the stadtholder, that they did not even deign to give any reply to the Dutch ministers until sixteen days after the execution of the king.

The opposition faction in Holland was the republican party, who entertained sentiments favourable to the English Commonwealth, and who wished to extend those commercial relations which had previously existed, to the great mutual advantage of both countries. It was supposed that with the fall of royalty in England, all treaties, whether of commerce or of amity, had terminated; and, on the 17th of April, 1649, to remove uncertainty, the English parliament passed an act, in which it was declared, that the intention of the Commonwealth was to uphold and maintain, and if necessary to renew, all leagues and amities, which had existed before the change of government, between England and all foreign nations and states. One object of this act was to declare, at the same time, what ships taken at sea should, or should not be condemned as lawful prizes.

But, notwithstanding this friendly policy adopted by the Commonwealth, we find in the instructions, dated the 17th of January 1650, to Admiral Blake, that no reciprocal declaration of amity and intercourse had, up to that time, been published by any of the other governments of Europe.* With the exception of Holland, this conduct is not surprising. None of the foreign monarchs could cherish any sympathy towards the Commonwealth government. They naturally dreaded that the example of England was dangerous to their own supremacy, and that their subjects might resort to similar expedients in limiting the prerogative of absolutism. Even milder acts than those of the Commonwealth would have terrified absolute emperors and kings. It was also evident, that the government of the Commonwealth had derived its origin and maintained its power by military force; yet it was, on the continent and by the Orange party, in contumely, named a government of plebeïans and usurpers. Its stability was doubted; while its construction and its force was dreaded. Nor were the men who now formed the council of state in England indifferent to those sentiments; and although they were far from entertaining either the policy of aggression or intervention, they resolved that England should either be respected and acknowledged by the nations of the earth, or that Europe should experience hostility and chastisement from the fleets and forces of the Commonwealth. The result was triumphant, instructive, and wonderful.

If the army in England, Scotland, and Ireland,

* Scobel, 1649, chap. 21 ; Thurloe, vol. i., p. 135.

was maintained on a standard of greater efficiency than any other army in Europe, it was resolved that the navy of England should also be placed on a formidable establishment. Sir Harry Vane, with extraordinary ability, vigour, and resources, directed his genius and his energy to carry this resolution into the most efficient realisation.

In the mean time, the Dutch ministers in London and the parliament met on terms of great civility. It was arranged that the Commonwealth would send an embassy to the Hague, where they had previously sent Mr. Strickland as a resident; and that this embassy would endeavour to secure an alliance of friendship and intercourse with the States-General and the States of Holland. In order to render this mission more flattering to the Dutch, Dorislaus, a native of Holland, was appointed envoy by the parliament.* But the appointment was unfortunate; for it appears that he was one of the persons employed in preparing the indictment against Charles I., and that he was a counsel in the prosecution, although he does not appear to have spoken on the trial.†

The Hague at this time was a small village, with scattered villas in its neighbourhood. It was the residence not only of Charles II. and the Duke of York, with several of the ministers and courtiers of the late king, but of the Duke of Hamilton, Lauderdale, and Montrose, as well as of a crowd of officers, with their domestics, and other Royalists who had fled from England or Scotland. At the same time there arrived the Earl of Cassilis, and the commissioners who were sent by the Scotch Presbyterians to invite

* Journals of Parliament, February 15; Clarendon.
† Athenæ Oxoniensis, vol. ii., p. 339.

Charles II. to come and reign over them. Nor must it be forgotten that the States-General, in which the faction of the Prince of Orange predominated, had, a few days after the execution of Charles I., proceeded in a body to condole with Charles II. on the murder of his father.

Under such circumstances, Dorislaus was not the man, nor was this the time for any ambassador to be received with honour or safety by the Dutch government. On his arrival he was attended by only a few persons, and, for want of a better residence, he lodged at an ordinary hotel, where all the lodgers dined at a public table. While at supper, on the evening of the first day which he passed at the Hague, six persons in masks entered the room; and, after requesting the company to be tranquil, they pulled Dorislaus from the table, and, running him through the body with their swords, left him dead upon the floor and withdrew. The assassins are said to have been some of the Scottish dependents of Montrose. They boasted openly of the assassination, as the treatment which they were willing to extend to all the murderers of the king.* But Whitelock maintains that the assassins were English Cavaliers.†

The body of Dorislaus was brought to England and buried in Westminster Abbey. A provision was made for his family; and a declaration was issued by the parliament, that "the lives of those Royalists who were excepted from pardon should answer for this assassination."‡ The States of Hol-

* Clarendon, p. 293; Thurloe, p. 174, Athen. Oxon.
† Whitelock, 401.
‡ Journals, May 14, 18; Whitelock.

land denounced the outrage, and the Dutch minister expressed the regret felt by his government, that those to whom hospitality was extended should have committed so abominable a crime. This excuse was followed by a declaration on the part of several members of the provincial states, that the character of the republic was compromised by the atrocious murder of a public minister; and they suggested the propriety of Charles II. removing to some other residence. He accordingly left the Hague with his attendants, and retired to Breda.* Some time afterwards the provincial states insisted that Strickland, the agent or resident for the Commonwealth, should be admitted to a public audience; but this was resisted by the States-General.†

Not discouraged by the fate of Dorislaus, the parliament, early in 1650, sent Anthony Ascham as envoy to Madrid, Charles Vane to Lisbon, and Richard Bradshaw to Hamburgh.‡ Alonzo de Cardenas, who had been the minister of Spain at the court of Charles I., still continued in London; but he had not as yet any official correspondence with the council of state or parliament, and he did not assume the functions of an ambassador. He had quarrelled, however, with Charles I., and entertained a deep hatred against that king and his family.§ In his communications with the court of Madrid,

* Clarendon, p. 294; Heath, p. 236.

† Thurloe, i., p. 113; Journals, May 10 and September 14. Dorislaus was a native of Holland, but he had been considered an English citizen, having been a professor in Gresham College. Parliament granted his son 200*l.* per annum, and his daughters 500*l.* each. He was buried at the public expense, and his name and character was held in great esteem by the Republicans.

‡ Journals, January 31.

§ Clarendon, iii., p. 336.

he wrote with great confidence in the stability of the Commonwealth, and on the improbability of the restoration of Charles II. He was, however, the first foreign ambassador who had a public audience with the parliament; and he laboured assiduously to establish a friendly alliance between Spain and the Commonwealth; for the court of Madrid had not yet forgiven the treatment of the Infanta by Charles I. and his father. Anthony Ascham arrived at Cadiz, with only three attendants, in May, 1650. The governor of Andalusia received him courteously, and had him conducted, under the protection of a guard, to Madrid, where he arrived on the evening of the 26th of May. But on the following day several English Royalists forced their way into his hotel, and assassinated him and his interpreter* with their swords. They fled for safety into a church, where they were apprehended, tried, and convicted for the crime; but only one of them, a Protestant, was executed. The others were, by the influence of the clergy, foreign ambassadors, and the people of Madrid, returned to the church, from which they afterwards effected their escape.†

Assassination was at that time considered by no means disreputable, either by the kings or their ministers; and the successful interposition of the clergy and Catholic ambassadors to send the assassins of Ascham back to the church for refuge, tended, if pos-

* Lingard calls their interpreter, Riba, a renegade friar.

† Thurloe, i., pp. 148, 153, 202. Clarendon, p. 369, who acknowledges that one of his servants was an accomplice in the murder, but escaped by flying to the Venetian ambassador's. In the church the people supplied the assassins with food, and covered their retreat when they fled.—Haslie.

sible, further to excuse the zeal of intolerance against the Roman Catholics and the Stuarts.

Charles II. had, during the previous year, sent Hyde (Lord Clarendon) and Lord Cottington as his ambassadors to the court of Philipp IV. at Madrid; and Louis de Haro, the prime minister of Philipp, stated to those noblemen a few days after the murder of Ascham, that "he envied those gallant men, whatever might be their fate, who have done so noble an action to avenge the blood of their sovereign. If the king, his master, had such resolute subjects, he would not have lost Portugal; as one brave man, by taking away the life of the usurper, might at any time during the first two years have put an end to the rebellion."*

If we reflect upon the vindictive spirit and temper of Clarendon against the regicides, and afterwards even against the dead bodies of Cromwell and Bradshaw, we may with reason suspect that he had lent his approval to his servant acting as an accomplice in the murder of Ascham.

Hyde and Cottington were, however, in consequence of the firm attitude of the Commonwealth towards Spain, told by De Haro that their "presence at Madrid was no longer desirable."

To comprehend the power and condition of England under the Commonwealth and the Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell, it is desirable, and even necessary, to introduce a sketch of the condition of the principal states of Europe during the first half of the seventeenth century; and also to introduce a brief view of the Romish Hierarchy, and of the sentiments

* Clarendon, pp. 373, 374.

which prevailed, especially during the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and the two first Stuart kings, as well as during the Commonwealth, among the Protestants of Great Britain regarding the spirit and dangers of Popery: for no period in the ecclesiastical history of Europe was so eventful as the first half of the seventeenth century.

Religious intolerance and persecution ought to be impartially condemned, without reference to sectarian creeds. We would that the professors of the Church of Rome were to be at all times as free in their worship as those of any other Christian denomination; and that they should enjoy all civil and political rights without any disability on account of religion. We would also wish to see no one treated with insult or contumely on account of the doctrines or ceremonials of his faith or Church, however erroneous we may deem those doctrines and ceremonies. But we must condemn all temporal interference in matters of government, or with the worship of others, on the part of any spiritual pontiff or priest, as dangerous to all civil and political liberty—to all religious decorum and freedom; and, we are of opinion that such assumption on the part of any ecclesiastic, and especially of a foreign bishop, should be resisted and prevented, but without persecuting any man for his religious doctrines, or his form of worship.

CHAPTER IX.

THE PAPAL HIERARCHY—AUSTRIA AND THE GERMAN EMPIRE DURING THE FIRST FIFTY YEARS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

THE intolerance manifested by the Puritans and Presbyterians during the civil war and the Commonwealth against the Protestant episcopacy and the Papists, may be naturally and correctly accounted for, but cannot be admired nor justified. It was a spirit of zeal which partook of a strong religious, as well as a bold political character. The Romish doctrines and Popish Hierarchy were considered by the Protestant Nonconformists inconsistent with civil, religious, and political liberty; and a temporal government and spiritual administration under the supremacy of one absolute prince were by them abhorred. The persecution of Laud, and the resemblance which appeared to them in the Anglican episcopacy and liturgy, and the hierarchy and service of the Church of Rome, roused a fierce impatience and hatred of the Church of England.

History had taught them that a pontiff who claimed as a divine and hereditary right, and who had for centuries exercised, the terrific power to dispose of kingdoms, and to excommunicate all men, how-

ever exalted their station or might, or honourable or virtuous their conduct, held an authority incompatible with the clear and just and pure doctrines preached, and the prayer inculcated by the gracious and merciful Saviour of mankind. It is not therefore surprising that they considered the Pope a most dangerous and arbitrary temporal as well as spiritual potentate.

From the time of Wickliffe, and especially after the invention of printing, many, not only in the universities, but in the other schools of theology, law, and learning of the kingdom, both divines and civilians, brought their reasoning faculties and their powers of sagacity to examine and judge the authority upon which the Romish Hierarchy was established, and the truth or falsehood of the ground upon which its temporal and spiritual government had been defended. They discovered that about the same time that the Churches of Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, Alexandria, and Carthage, were corrupted by their wealth, and by the ambition of avaricious and sensual ecclesiastics, the Church of Rome assumed superior and arbitrary pretensions on the forged ground of its having been founded by the two great apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul. But on examining the evidence set forth by that Church to justify those usurpations, it was also discovered that the accounts of St. Peter having visited Rome, and of his having been the first bishop of that see, and that he was succeeded by Linus, of whom mention is made in the Epistle of Timothy, and that Linus was succeeded by Clement, to whom allusion is made in the Epistle to the Philippians, were utterly fabulous, and desti-

tute either of scriptural or of any other true foundation; that the supremacy of that Church was, in its history, canons, and doctrines, found to be grounded not on the simple and modest doctrines, morals, and religion of the Gospels and Epistles, but on the forged legends of Simon Barjonas, who was surnamed *Cephas*, or Peter, by the Messiah. . They not only could find no fair evidence that St. Peter was the first Bishop of Rome, but that there was no better proof of his ever having been at, or crucified in Rome, than there was of the battles with dragons in Cappadocia.* That notwithstanding the fallacy of those legends, it was laid down by the popes and fathers that a peculiar holiness was attached to the city of Rome as the place where St. Peter had founded its bishopric, and where he had been martyred and buried; that the popes by these frauds arrogated to themselves as the direct successors of the pretended first pope, the martyr, St. Peter, the heritage of the same power which was committed to him by Jesus;† that consequently whatever they should bind on earth, the same should also be bound in heaven; that it was under this usurpation that the popes had deposed and proclaimed kings, disposed

* See note, Appendix.

† The popes assumed to themselves all the blessings, authority, and power conferred on St. Peter in the following verses of the Gospel of St. Matthew:

17. And Jesus answered and said unto him (Peter): Blessed art thou, Simon Barjonas; for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my father which is in heaven.

18. And I say also unto thee, That thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.

19. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven.—Gospel of St. Matthew, ch. xvi., verses 17, 18, and 19.

of their kingdoms, released subjects from their oaths of allegiance, excommunicated men from society and the pale of religion in this world, and damned them to all eternity in a future state.*

It was therefore argued by all the Protestant theologians, that to believe this Hierarchy was based on true Christian doctrines, or on historical facts, would be to give up all exercise of reason and judgment, and to believe without dispute or examination the infallibility of that monstrous, and at the same time magnificent, institution. That, instead of the splendour, riches, power, magnificence, and tyranny of the Popish Church, the Divine religion, which was revealed by Jesus Christ in the reign of Augustus Cæsar, was the worship in humility of that God, who had made of one blood all generations that dwelt on the face of the earth; a religion of peace and charity towards all men; which inculcated no pride,—no avarice,—no persecution,—and, unlike the exclusive monopoly of "the special favour and protection of God" arrogated by the ancient Jews, that it extended its blessings and its promises of salvation to all mankind;—directed that all men should love one another, and their neighbours as themselves; *made no distinction of days or of meat;* offered the pure baptism of water for the blood of circumcision; and that its primitive disciples were distinguished for the most exemplary qualities,—for humility and peace,—for a disregard of riches, pleasure, and luxury, costly articles, and splendid dwellings. That those primitive Christians were above

* It was contended at Rome, that although St. Peter had dated his epistle from *Babylon*, it had been written and issued from Rome.

all things careful of their moral reputation; that it was lamentable, in tracing the progress of the Church, and in examining, without bias, ecclesiastical history, by all reasonable men, they discovered that, according as the professors of Christianity and their Churches departed from their original simplicity and purity of doctrine, they engrafted gradually on its spiritual character both worldly institutions and wealthy establishments; and that in the progress of the Church growing rich and powerful, the Hierarchy became also rapacious, corrupt, and false,—its spirit and practice intolerant; while it combined in its functions the dazzling ceremonial of a fascinating, yet morally degrading religious domination, and an arbitrary and persecuting spiritual and temporal power.

The Puritans and Presbyterians argued further, that the primitive Christians abhorred *festivals* and *idols;* that independence and equality were essential elements of their government; that in religion, so in government, their congregations, originally, formed a democratic republic; that those congregations, departing from their primitive truth and virtue, in the progress of their corruption, grew rich, strong, and tyrannical; that the offices of preachers first, and bishops afterwards, became objects of ambition and avarice; that in their character, morals, and demeanour, instead of imitating the virtuous and unselfish examples of the first Bishop Timothy, or the greatest of preachers, Paul, they revelled in riches, gorgeous apparel, luxurious living, sensual vices, splendid palaces, pompous ceremonials, and high distinctions of ecclesiastical rank; that the popes having assumed the

authority of *Vice Regent* of Christ, they typified, by their profuse sacerdotal magnificence, the high priests of the Jews; inculcating and enforcing obedience and non-resistance to their supreme authority; and that by frauds, chemical delusions, and mechanical automatons, they attributed miracles and cures to the statues, pictures, shrines, tombs, relics, and bones of saints.

In their fears of, and in their vehemence against, Popery, the Presbyterians and Puritans argued, with truth, that instead of adhering to the beautiful and simple rules of Christian morality, the Roman Hierarchy had embroiled the princes of the earth in bloodshed and persecution; that their pontiffs, bishops, and abbots led armies, sword in hand, to slaughter mankind; that the Pope had authorised the atrocious inquisition of Languedoc, under which at least 150,000 persons, men, women, and children, had perished by fire, the sword, and famine; had contrived to rouse the princes of Europe to embark in the wars of the cross in Syria and Asia Minor, which had during three centuries caused the bloodshed of at least 1,000,000 of the human race, without any service to Christianity, or any beneficial service to mankind; had, from motives of ambition and avarice, carried on the bloody wars of the *investitures*, by which the popes had reduced emperors to the most humble condition; had drawn enormous incomes from the people and princes of Europe, including those of England, to maintain the tyranny and sumptuous magnificence of the Hierarchy at Rome; had caused the atrocious persecutions which, for twenty-three years, had deso-

lated Bohemia; and that the Romish Hierarchy had stood forth with fire, sword, and excommunication, against any reform of the Church or of the priesthood, until, eventually, that great religious revolution effected by the labours of Luther and the reformers, dawned over Europe in the sixteenth century.

But whatever may be deemed the errors or merits of the Roman Catholic Church, all good men will condemn those that persecute, and those who treat contemptuously, the worshippers of that form and ceremonial of Christianity. The Roman Catholics have been severely persecuted in England, and also in other countries. The labouring classes of all countries, until a recent period, have been, from ignorance and superstition, credulous and bigoted. They never had the opportunity, the knowledge, or the power of discriminating between truth and falsehood. The authorities upon which their religion was based were not only unknown to them, but nearly to all others; and the writings, preachings, and dicta of the priesthood were entertained as divine truths over all Europe, with a few individual exceptions, for more than thirteen centuries.* But in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the inventions of paper and of printing; the discovery of

* The diffuse and extraordinary length of most ecclesiastical histories have terrified all except the most laborious detectors of falsehood. I have, in the Appendix, given illustrative extracts from some of the frauds or credulities of the early and mediæval Church histories on which the Church of Rome is founded. The apochryphal MS., entitled the "Pontificale of Damascus," is one of the most impudent of those fraudulent authorities. Another consists of a pretended History of the Church, attributed to one Hegesippus, said to have been a converted Jew, who died towards the end of the second century. Numerous absurd fragments were afterwards transcribed into the "*Acta Sanctorum*" of Henschenius, Antwerp, 1653, and into the "*Spicilelegium*" of Grabe,

America, and of the passage round Africa to the Indies; and the avarice of the Romish Church began and continued to enlighten the world; to instruct mankind; and to lead bold men more generally to exercise their powers of reason, and to form conclusions in harmony with their own knowledge and judgment, independently of the priesthood, or of any hereditary worship. The prerogatives of the Pope as the successor of St. Peter were disputed; the donations of Constantine and Charlemagne, and the Decretals of the Church, were discovered to be forgeries for enriching and aggrandising the Hierarchy, and robbing the princes and people of Christendom;* the atrocities of the inquisition in Spain, and in the countries discovered by the Spaniards in the New World; the slaughter of the Albigenses and Waldenses; the persecutions of the Huguenots in France; the massacre of St. Bartholomew; the massacres and burnings during the Thirty Years' War in Germany; the burnings in the reign of Queen Mary; the slaughters which, under the Duke of Alva, had exterminated the Protestants of all the Low Countries, with the exception of those of the seven United Provinces, who had resisted and become independent of Spain; and, finally, the massacres during the rebellion of 1641 in Ireland, were facts deeply impressed on the

Oxford ed., 1700 and 1724. They are all evidently fables. Eusebius abounds with fables—so does Fleury. See Mathew Paris; Rodger of Wendovera; William of Malmesbury, and other English monastic chroniclers, for absurd legends, miracles, and frauds, and especially the Norman Orderic Vital. The more classical ecclesiastical history of the Neapolitan, Baronius, who was confessor to Clement VIII., and afterwards a cardinal and librarian of the Vatican, abounds with errors.

* See note, Appendix.

minds, and keenly engraved on the hearts, of the Protestants of England and of Scotland. Those cruel facts were many of them recent; none of them were remote; their impressions created sentiments which beheld the power of the Church of Rome and the Catholics with horror; and since the time of the persecution of the Protestants by Queen Mary, and the attempted invasion of England by the great Armada, no country and no people were held in greater abomination by the Puritans than Spain and the Spaniards, who, with the emperor, were held to be the chief supporters of the Pope and the Romish Hierarchy. Nor was the power of that Hierarchy so greatly enfeebled, as might have been supposed, by the Reformation; although the wars of religion in Germany were terminated in 1648 by the celebrated peace of Westphalia, which was concluded in the same year in which Charles I. was executed.

During the last ten years of the sixteenth, and the first thirty years of the seventeenth century, notwithstanding the progress of the Reformation, the Romish Hierarchy, as boldly as ever, stood out for the same daring usurpations which had been exercised by Hildebrand and his successors. Theologians still directed the councils of all the sovereigns of Europe, excepting that of Gustavus Adolphus, the King of Denmark, and the Protestant princes of Germany; while the Jesuits, by their skilful abilities, learning, and accomplishments, excited every available influence in favour of the Papal supremacy. In France, a celebrated Catholic league was formed in order to exterminate the Huguenots, and to prevent the accession of

the King of Navarre to the French throne. In the religious war of Cevennes, Papists and Huguenots assassinated and destroyed each other, sparing neither young or old, women or their infants. Guise, the leader of this Catholic league, was assassinated by the agent of Henry III. In consequence, the Pope had fulminated an excommunication against the king, who fell a few days afterwards by the dagger of a monk.

The genius of the Romish Hierarchy, and the intrigues of the Pope's legate, Rinuccini, exercised a fatal influence in Ireland, until the subjugation of that country by Cromwell. It was before propounded by the Jesuits, and proclaimed by the Church, that "when the king had violated the faith of God, and the people of God, the people, on their part, were not only permitted, but enjoined, at the command of God's vicar, who is actually supreme over all kings, to desist on their side from keeping faith with such a king." And Bellarmine, one of the purest casuists of his time, laid it down that "the supreme pontiff is simply and absolutely above the Universal Church, and superior to the general council; he is thus subjected to no authority upon earth;"* and, "as supreme spiritual prince, has power to dispose of the temporal matters of all Christians, and can change kingdoms, taking them from one ruler to bestow them on another, if that be needful to the welfare of souls."†

It was Paul V. who had first instituted a perma-

* Bellarminus de Conciliorum Aatoritate, chap. xvii.

† Bellarminus de Romano Pontifice, chap. v. and vi. Cardinal Bellarmine quotes more than seventy great authorities to prove his own assertions.

nent *Nunciaturo* to watch over the interests of the Church in Switzerland, where, since that period, the Catholic cantons have adhered to the Romish Hierarchy. Yet the doctrines of Calvin and the Presbyterian ceremonial maintained its ground in Geneva.

The extraordinary reaction against the Reformation, which had made such rapid and wonderful progress during the first quarter of the seventeenth century, was chiefly directed and promoted by the same pontiff, and the Jesuits, who then abounded in almost every state in Europe. It was also during this period that Spain had succeeded in establishing her power over all the Netherlands, with the exception of the seven United Provinces. Henry IV., it is true, protected the Huguenots against further persecution by the celebrated Edict of Nantes; but from the day that he professed himself a Papist,* the Protestant power, both in a political as well as a religious sense, disappeared in France, where it has never since to any great extent revived, or acquired the smallest political influence. The Jesuit missions in South and North America, in India, China, and Japan, and even in Persia, were so successful, that it was believed in Protestant Germany, Holland, and England, that at no distant day the Pope would be enabled to establish the inquisition in all the nations of the newly-discovered world; in Asia, and possibly in Africa. Maximilian of Bavaria united with the Emperor Ferdinand and Philipp II. in order to crush all the German Protestants; while at the same time the Lutheran Elector of Saxony carried on a persecution against the Calvinists, whom he and his

* See note, Appendix.

queen, Anne of Denmark, regarded as greater heretics than even the Papists. The Elector Palatine, Frederick, was deprived of his dominions by the single battle of Weissberg, on the 8th of November, 1620. During the same year, excited by the preachings of a Capuchin monk, a leader of bandits, consisting of Tyrolese, Milanese, and Venetians, massacred the Protestants of the Grisons; "and the wild mountains resounded with the shrieks of the murdered, and were fearfully lighted up by the flames of their solitary dwellings."*

Paul V. died on the 28th of January, 1621, from apoplexy, while taking part in a procession in celebration of the victory of Weissberg; but he had lived so long that nearly all the cardinals who had elected him had preceded him to the tomb. His nephew, the Cardinal Borghese, then wielded the power which enabled him to choose Alesandro Ludovisio, of Bologna, as a successor, who was accordingly elected Pope, under the style of Gregory XV. He was old, decrepid, and in bad health; in his person he was short and slender, and in temper phlegmatic. But he had risen in the Church to the rank of cardinal by his dexterity in negotiations, and by the general steadiness of his policy. He was remarked for his taciturnity, and for avoiding disputes with other cardinals and churchmen; at his election he appeared more as one advancing rapidly to the grave than calculated for the increased responsibility of directing the affairs of the pontificate.

But it was the fortune of many of the old popes to be surrounded either by sons or nephews in the full

* Ranke's "History of the Popes."

vigour of intellect and manhood. Ludovisio, the nephew of Gregory, was an ambitious and splendid personage, and so deeply attached to the Romish Hierarchy, that he considered its extension over Europe as absolutely essential to the salvation of mankind. He even commanded the admiration of his enemies, by his close application to business, his clear sagacity, and his facility of judging between the practicable and the impracticable. His temper was tranquil; his moral, as well as personal courage, led him to despise difficulties; but he was often restricted in his purposes and actions by the feebleness and timidity of the Pope.

Although the propaganda was projected in an edict of Gregory XIII., which vested in a certain number of cardinals the printing of catechisms in various Oriental languages,* yet it was not until the pontificate of Gregory XV. that this intellectually-constructed institution was founded at Rome; and this Pope, who, from admiration for the Jesuits, under whom he was trained up for the Church, added their founders, Ignatius and Xavier, to the saints of the Romish calendar, and at his own expense built a splendid church in honour of the fraternity at Rome. He also maintained as an office of high consideration that of "Protector of the Capuchins," upon whom and the Jesuits he confided the magnificent trust of the propaganda, the grand object of which was the conversion of all infidels and heretics to the Romish Apostolic and Catholic Church. Those missions soon found their

* Cocqueline's "Præfatio ad Maffeo Annales Gregorii XIII.," p. 5. Etat Présent de l'Eglise Romaine," p. 289.

way to India and Pekin, and they rapidly swarmed over Europe, Asia, and America.*

The chief assistant of the cardinal in establishing the propaganda was the famous Capuchin preacher, Girolamo da Narni, whom Bellarmine compared to the Apostle Paul. The funds were chiefly supplied by the Pope and his nephew. This institution was established, and in the bull for canonising the founders of the Jesuits it is stated: "At the time when new worlds had been discovered, and when Luther had arisen in the Old World to assail the Catholic Church, the soul of St. Ignatius Loyola was moved to establish a society which would devote itself specially to the conversion of the infidels, and to the reclamation of heretics." Francis Xavier was considered the most worthy apostle of the East Indies; but both, for their labours, were now canonised, and received into the calendar of "saints, churches, and altars, where man might offer his sacrifices to God, might now be converted."†

In France, the Huguenots, whose power was considered to be exterminated, rose in arms during the state of anarchy into which the country had fallen in the last years of the ministry of Richelieu;‡ while at the same time the Protestants of Northern Germany had formed a coalition with the King of Denmark. But the latter alliance fell to the ground, as the aid which was promised by

* Giunti Vita e fatti di Ludovisio. Instruzione a Monsig. Sangro. See also Caraffa, Germania Restaurata; and Khevenhiller.

† Bullarium Cocquelines, v., 135, 137.

‡ Rohan, Mem., i., 3. Benoist, ii., 419. Acquetil, Hist. Voltaire, Ess. sur les Mœurs, &c.

England was not furnished; and the Imperial forces, who met no interruption, overran all Northern Germany, occupied Brandenburg, Pomerania, and Mecklenberg, deposed the Archbishop of Magdeberg and the Bishop of Halberstadt, whose sees were afterwards given by the Pope to an Imperial prince. The anti-reformation edicts then continued to be incessantly promulgated during several years. The young Count Nassau-Siegen, the Count Palatine of Neuburg, and the Master of the Teutonic Knights, were active in reducing the Protestants; and ultimately the nobility of the Upper Palatinate were compelled to adopt the Catholic faith. Bremen, Verden, Minden, Camin, Havelberg Schwerin, and nearly all the north German benefices, were restored to the Romish Church; Nuremberg, Strasburg, Hall in Suabia, and numerous other towns, being also compelled to follow the example.*

Urban VIII., in consequence of the peace betwixt France and England, the marriage afterwards of Charles I. with Henrietta of France, and the great number of Catholics in England and Ireland,† indulged in the hope of being able to re-establish the hierarchy in these kingdoms. With this view he appealed to the pride and dignity of Louis XIII., observing, that the King of France had been offended by the King of England;—first, *in his state*, by the help given by England to the Huguenot rebels; second, in his life, by the instigation and felony of Sciales, who had induced

* Caraffa, Germ. Rest. Ranke.

† The Pope received assurances from James favourable to the Catholics. Breve relatione di quanto si é trattato tra s. sta. ed el re d'Inspetterra MS. Vatican.

the Duke of Orleans to plot against his Majesty, for which crime he afterwards suffered death; third, in his reputation by the many breaches of promises he had committed; and fourth, because of the injuries inflicted upon his sister, the Queen of England, who was treated with indignity; and, more than all, in his soul, as the Queen was oppressed on account of her religion.* He also addressed the Spanish ambassador on the same subject, and enjoined as a religious obligation the interference of his master, Philipp IV., on behalf of the unhappy Queen of England; while special instructions were given to Spado, his nuncio at Paris, as to the policy he should pursue in these proceedings.

In consequence of those intrigues, a treaty was ratified between Richelieu and the Spanish ambassador, on the 20th of April, 1627. France engaged to place all her harbours in a state of defence, and to raise an army to combine with that of Spain early in the following year; and it was decided, by both the courts and by the Vatican, in the event of conquest, that Ireland should be added to the papal see, and be governed by a viceroy appointed by the pontiff.

It was at this time also designed by the Pope, the Emperor, and Spain, to form in Europe a com-

* "Essere," says the Pope, "il re di Francia offeso nello stato, pel fomento che l' Inghilterra dove agli Ugonotti ribelli: nella vita, rispetto agli incitamenti e fellonia di Sciales, il quale haveva indotto il Duca di Orleans a macchinare contra S. Mta. per lo cui delitto fu poscia fatto morire: nella riputazione, rispetto a tanti mancamenti di promesse: e finalmente nel proprio sangue, rispetto agli strapazzi fatti alla regina sua sorella: ma quello che voleva dir tutto, nell, anima, insidiando l' Inglese alla salute di quella della regina ed insieme a quella del Christianissimo stesso e di tutti coloro che pur troppo hebbero voglia di fare quello infelice matrimonio."—*The Pope's Instructions in Nicolelli.*

bination against the naval power of England and Holland, and it was projected that the Hanse Towns should be included in the confederacy. It was shortly after this period that Buckingham sailed to the relief of Rochelle, or rather to disgrace himself and his king, as he rendered no assistance to the besieged. Consequently that city of the Huguenots surrendered to the arms of Richelieu; and the other Protestant towns, becoming disheartened, fell into the hands of the Catholics.*

The war of the Mantuan succession about the same time created fresh disorders in Italy, disturbed the intrigues of Cardinal Richelieu, and interfered with those of the emperor and the Pope. Ferdinand II., although in the height of power, could obtain no concessions from the Pope; but while his troops were engaged in conquering Mantua in the south, a new and formidable military leader now appeared in the north of Germany, whom at no distant day it would be his lot to encounter.

Of all the popes, none considered himself more of a temporal prince than Urban VIII. Instead of the writings of the fathers which usually lay on the tables of his two predecessors, maps, drawings, and

* Cardinal Berullo writes thus to the nuncio at Paris: "La Rochelle fell under the eyes of the English fleet, which pretended to have come to relieve the besieged; the expedition against Rohan, who was the chief and soul of the Huguenot faction; the proceedings against them in Languedoc, with the recovery of more than fifty other places, have shaken their hearts and exhausted their powers, so that, having lost their internal force, and being deceived in foreign aid, they have surrendered themselves to the clemency of the king. The Spaniards certainly came to take part in the siege of La Rochelle, though late, and with only fourteen ships; still they did come. He attributes this accession to their [certainty of the termination], and their wish [to participate in the honours]."—*Zorzo-Zorzi Relatione di Francia*, 1629.

plans of fortifications covered those of this ambitious and warlike prelate. "The monuments of my predecessors," said he, "are of marble—mine shall be of iron." Before his pontificate, the popes depended altogether on the forces of other princes;* but, according to Contarini, the spiritual and temporal administration of the new Pope became a monarchical and priestly despotism. They were in fact more than royal. They combined an imperial and pontifical absolutism.

At Castle Franco, in the Bolognese frontier, he constructed a strong fortification, which he named Fort Urbano. He added breastworks to the Castle of St. Angelo, and filled that fortress with artillery, munitions of war, and sufficient provisions to stand a formidable siege. He surrounded the papal gardens and Monte Cavallo with strong walls; he rendered Civita Vecchia, by the construction of piers, a convenient seaport—the chief trade of which, soon afterwards, was that of the corsairs of Barbary, who came thither to sell the goods which they plundered from the merchant vessels of the Christians. He dispensed nearly altogether with consistories, saying that "he knew more, and could understand his affairs and those of the Church, better than all the

* Contarini writes, in 1635: "The Pope has brought a certain Ripas of Brescia to Tivoli, where, with workmen from the Gardon, he makes a large quantity of arms, causing the rough iron to be brought from the Brescian territory, and he is also raising some portion of ores found in Umbria. The Pope has prepared an arsensal for those arms under the library of the Vatican, where muskets, pikes, carabines, and pistols, are stored in great order. There are now sufficient to arm 20,000 foot soldiers and 5000 horse; besides a good number that have been sent from the same factory of Tivoli to Ferrara and Castle Franco."—*Relatione della Corte di Roma del Signore Aluise Contarini*, 1632-35.

cardinals put together;" nor did he submit any questions of importance to the congregations. In giving audiences, he spoke so much, and so long, that a cardinal on his way to the Vatican once said: "I am going, not to receive an audience, but to give it to his holiness, who will not listen, but talk."

The Church was never governed more absolutely, nor the temporal authority exercised with more vigour. Although one of the richest of the Barbarini family, yet he was insatiable in grasping at the wealth of the Church to enrich his nephews and other relatives. Having been formerly *nuncio* in France, he attached himself more to the interests of that kingdom than to those of Spain and Germany: believing that by the power of France—by the intrigues and skill—first of Cardinal Richelieu, and then of Mazarin — and the authority of the Medici queen, he could be able to restore all Europe to the Catholic Hierarchy.*

It was a rule among the Romans never to erect a statue to any pope during his lifetime. Urban, however, declared that such a rule should not apply to a pope like himself. He was a poet, and transformed the psalms and the gospel passages of the New Testament into Horatian measures. His health was robust, and he shed a brilliancy over his court, for his self-consciousness of merit rendered him far more complaisant than overbearing in his

* Pietro Contarini, 1627. The author of "Les Mémoires de Richelieu," vol. i., p. 65, inserts, on the authority of the letters of Marquemont, that it would not be difficult to manage the Pope. "His affection is for the king, and for France, although he will prudently endeavour to satisfy other sovereigns."

demeanour. It was, however, difficult for any of the sovereigns of Europe, especially the King of Spain, to obtain any concessions from him; and it was to this pontiff that the supreme spiritual and temporal power over Catholic Christendom was entrusted during the most critical period of its history.

In regard to England and Spain, his interpositions tended to prevent the marriage alliance between Prince Charles Stuart and the Infanta. His predecessor had drawn up a dispensation for that marriage, but Urban added the stipulation "that there should be erected Roman Catholic churches in every county in England,"—a condition so utterly impossible to execute, that the Pope declined to press it when the more agreeable marriage alliance was ratified between Charles and Henrietta of France, and celebrated by his own dispensation.*

But at this time the Catholic princes of Europe began to intrigue and quarrel against each other, and the German emperor resolved to invade Italy.

Wallenstein, who had previously opposed this war, now considered it necessary, inasmuch as the Pope, and his French and other allies, had conspired to overturn the Austrian power; and he avariciously remarked, "That Rome, not having been plundered for one hundred years, must now be remarkably wealthy." The house of Austria, both in the empire and in Spain, resolved to make war not only against the Protestants, but against Italy and France. While the Protestants, therefore, were overcome, or reduced by great calamities in Ger-

* Russdorf's Negotiations, vol. i., p. 205.

many, Switzerland, France, and the Netherlands; when the King of Denmark had been defeated, and compelled to make a humiliating peace; while the Dutch were fighting for their liberties; and when those disputes commenced in England between the king and the parliament which led to civil war, there was but one Protestant power in Europe which stood up against the Imperial forces and the Popish Hierarchy. This power was that of Gustavus Adolphus, who had trained himself in his own camps, and who had given new tactics to the science of war in the army which he conducted. At the head of this army he conquered Riga, all Livonia, the greater part of Lithuania, and he afforded protection to the Protestants of Ermenland, and to the countries of the north of Germany bordering on the Baltic.

Sigismund, King of Poland, on whom the emperor greatly relied to recruit an army for the invasion of France, was induced by the representations of Baron Charnacé, the ambassador of Louis, and by the necessities of his nobles, to enter into a truce for six years with Gustavus Adolphus.

The magnates of Poland, worn out in their means by war, became anxious and impatient for peace; and, by a treaty which was definitively settled on the 25th of September, 1629, a confederation was formed between France and Sweden; which was impolitically joined during the same year by Venice: that corrupt oligarchy having in its pride, or imbecility, engaged to contribute to the extent of one-third of the subsidy.* In these negotiations, Gustavus gene-

* Russdorf, vol. i., p. 274.

rally avoided religious affairs ; and, with regard to Germany, he then only proposed to restore the estates to their ancient rights, to secure the commerce and navigation, and to remove the Imperial troops.*

The policy, as well as the magnanimous pride of Gustavus Adolphus, would appear, by the treaty with France, in January, 1631, and by the treaty with the Protestants at Leipzig in February of the same year, to be directed to restoring and maintaining the laws of the empire ; generally, as respected the states and the princes of Germany ; and, with regard to the Protestant religion, to secure its freedom according to the confession of Augsburg; but, unfortunately, that intolerant declaration of religion deprived the Calvinists of any privileges or protection in Germany, France, the Netherlands, and Switzerland.

The Thirty Years' War of religion began first in Bohemia, in consequence of the disasters which befel the Protestants after religious toleration had been extended to their worship by the letters of the emperor, who granted the Lutheran Evangelical Protestants the free exercise of their religion, without distinction of place ; with the right also to erect churches where they thought proper. Under those letters it was proposed to erect Reformed churches within the territories of the Archbishop of Prague and of the Abbot of Braunau. But the attempt was opposed by force; in consequence of which the

* Baggni Letters, 18th June, and 16th July, 1630. See also Dumont's Corps Dip., tom. v., part II., 594; and Geschicate der lande Preussen under Sigismond III. See Schiller's Thirty Years' War. Menzel's History of Germany.

estates of Bohemia assembled at Prague, although forbidden by the emperor, and appointed a deputation to the Imperial council to be held in that city. This deputation consisted of the Count de la Thur, and other barons, charged with a demand for the redress of their grievances. But being contemptuously received by Slawata, president of the council, and by Martinitz, the deputation in their resentment accused both those magistrates and the secretary of the council of perfidy; and threw them out of the window. Anticipating no pardon from the emperor for so grave a crime, they immediately elected thirty directors to administer the sovereign government of the kingdom; raised an army, and demanded the assistance of Silesia, Moravia, and of the Protestant princes of Germany. Thus commenced the Thirty Years' War in Bohemia, which spread westward over the Palatinate, and afterwards convulsed the whole empire. In history, this war is distinguished by four different periods; first, that in Bohemia, which commenced in the year 1618, and ended in the year 1625; second, that of the Danish invasion, which continued from 1625 to 1630; third, that of the Swedes, under Gustavus Adolphus, and the generals who succeeded after he was slain at Lutzen, and which lasted from 1630 to the year 1635; and lastly, that of France, which began in 1635, and terminated in 1648 by the celebrated treaty of Westphalia.*

The history of this war, however, belongs more properly to that of continental Europe than to the

* Lunig. Reichs. Archiv. Part. Zweite. Erste Atheilulung. Histoire Abrégé de Traités de Paix, by Koch.—*New Edition by F. Schoell*, 1837.

special history of the British Empire. But we may remark that on receipt of the intelligence of the death of Gustavus Adolphus, Urban VIII., according to the general opinion, felt great regret, from the circumstance, as it was believed, that his holiness feared this sovereign less, or liked him better, than he did the Emperor Ferdinand.*

But the death of Gustavus Adolphus did not prevent his generals and the Duke Bernard of Weimar from carrying on the war with vigour. The capital of Bavaria fell,—and so did Tilly, the greatest of the Imperial generals. Bernard marched triumphantly against the Tyrol; the arms of the Swedes and of the German Protestants were on all sides victorious; and the result of their successes arrested the attempts to re-establish the Romish Hierarchy in Saxony and Northern Germany.

The resources of the empire and of the Pope were by those disasters exhausted; while France, the Netherlands, and Sweden, were in need of repose, all the more so that the industry and commerce of each of those countries had to a great extent been frustrated or destroyed by intestine disorders, and the calamities of foreign war. It was, however, considered dangerous to make a peace without bringing the house of Austria and the King of Spain to consent and bind themselves to clear terms for a future settlement of Europe; and this settlement, after several negotiations, was finally effected by the treaties which were concluded at Munster and Osnabruck, in Westphalia.

Before adverting to the history of those negotia-

* Pietro Contarini.

tions, we may first briefly sketch the condition of France and the principal states of Europe at this period.

After the middle of the seventeenth century, Austria, France, Venice, Lombardy, even Piedmont and the Two Sicilies, were the principal Catholic states of Europe; and the emperor and the Kings of France and Spain each courted the Pope, and intrigued at the Vatican.

As the power of the Pope diminished among nearly half the populations of Europe, he was detested by all sects who embraced the Protestant doctrines. Universal monarchy was the maxim of the Roman Hierarchy. It was the *end* to which the *genius* of the Jesuits was invariably directed, without regard to any virtue or vice, justice or crime, as the means, which this *end* was laid down in *their institute* as all-sufficient to *justify*. This spirit had extended itself over all Europe, with the exception of Muscovy, Turkey, and Greece. Under its inspiration, Spain invaded and conquered the largest islands of the West Indies, and the greatest empires of America. The Portuguese and Jesuits discovered and conquered Brazil and Paraguay, with the cross as their *Labarum*, or standard. In Canada and Louisiana, the soldier and the priest marched side by side, and the whole sovereignty of those vast regions was, at one time, assumed by the "Most Christian King."

It was the maxim of France to consider the person of the holy father sacred, yet dangerous to trust with uncontrolled authority. The policy, therefore, of France, was to bind the hands of the

Pope, and in feigned piety to kiss his feet. All the Catholic kings on their accessions were in the practice of sending embassies of obedience to Rome, at which each king had his protecting cardinal.

The dignity of bishop was expressed on every bull as conferred by the Pope's sole power; and in Spain, Flanders, and Italy, each held his see by a bull of divine, that is the Pope's, permission. In France, it was only in the year 1754 that Stuart Fitzjames, Bishop of Soissons, for the first time declared that he held his see under no such authority, and that all men—even infidels—were brothers of the same great family of mankind. Out of all Catholic countries, however, money continued, during the seventeenth century, to flow from various benefices—chiefly the consistories—and even from countries where, like Ireland and England, the toleration of the Roman Catholic religion did not even exist under law, but in which multitudes secretly professing that faith lived in the different towns and counties.

In France, under Louis XIV., the sentiment began to prevail, even among the clergy and religious fraternities, that it was their duty to consider their fidelity as subjects to the king paramount to their obedience as servants of the Pope. But the Gallican Church,—although far more independent of Rome than that of any other Catholic country, still admitted, in certain ecclesiastical cases, an appeal, in the last instance, to the Pope. For example, without the consent of the Pope, a divorce could not be obtained, nor religious vows be dissolved; and the licence of Rome, which was always obtained for money, was found indispensable to the

marriage of cousins, or others within the prohibited degree of consanguinity.

These infamous practices of tyrannical jurisdiction were combined with the policy and conduct which rendered it "agreeable to be taxed for dispensations, which were considered as acts of grace and mercy;" and no court was ever more dexterous than that of the Vatican in adapting its bearing to the circumstances of the times and the temper of mankind.

In this transition age, and for some ages before, the Pope, previous to his election, was generally a man who had acquired great experience in human affairs, and seldom yielded to, or was led astray by, opposition. The council of cardinals consisted of men of education, animated by the same policy which claimed the universe as the empire of the Romish Church. That council was said to have been "a consistory of kings;" and although the character of some of the popes, and of many cardinals, were stained with immoralities, crimes, and refined acts of cruelty, it cannot be denied that their policy and spirit, until the end of the sixteenth century, tempered the barbarism and softened the tyranny of the kings and princes of Europe. Rome always knew how to unite a firm policy with a mild address, an imperial authority with spiritual paternity. Hope was inspired — fear was inculcated; rewards were promised; punishments inflicted.

It is observed of Rome by a philosophical historian, that "the Church was *rampant* under the Emperor Charles V.; *terrible* towards the King of France, Henry III.; an *enemy* at one time, and the *friend* at another, of Henry IV.; speculated skilfully

with Louis XIII.; assumed an open hostility towards Louis XIV.—at a time, too, when he was to be feared; and that the Church was frequently the secret enemy of the emperors, whom *she* disliked more than the Turkish sultan. In the middle of the seventeenth century, some rights and a multitude of pretensions — policy, patience, and a spiritual authority over *the devout—or a spiritual without a* temporal authority—were all that remained of that ancient power which, a few centuries before, had subjected the Germanic Empire and all Europe to the supremacy of the Tiara."*

The Pope had always exercised in Naples the authority of a chief sovereign over a feudal vassal; but the King of Spain, on becoming possessed of Naples, allowed the court of Rome only the mere honour of having a too powerful vassal; while the emperor and the King of France merely allowed the pontiff a sufficient territory to render him respectable as a prince, but not formidable as a sovereign.

Venice at this period had greatly declined from her former power and grandeur. The discovery of America, and of the passage by sea to India, were followed by consequences which in one hundred and fifty years reduced Venice from being mistress of the commerce of the world, and exciting the jealousy of the kings of Europe, to a condition which rendered it difficult for that oligarchy to resist the invasion of the Turks; or to prevent the encroachments on her territorial possessions by the emperor: so that this once splendid republic declined gradually

* Voltaire, Siècle de Louis XIV., vol i., pp. 205, 206. Paris, 1785.

in the wisdom of her government, and in the magnificence of her power, until the French revolution caused her disappearance as an independent state.

Tuscany, in the seventeenth century, fell into a powerless, but remained in a tranquil and rather prosperous condition; and the literature, art, and civilisation revived in Europe by the Medici still flourished at Florence.

The north of Italy and Savoy was disordered by the wars of the French and Spaniards, and the adhesion of a portion of the northern parts of the Milanese to France enfeebled to some extent the Austrian power south of the Alps.

CHAPTER X.

CONDITION OF FRANCE IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY—RICHELIEU—MAZARIN—WAR OF THE FRONDE—LOUIS XIV.

In France, during the reigns of Charles VII. and Louis XI., the feudal power was nearly destroyed, a standing army was instituted, and an absolute monarchy established. In the reign of Francis I., disastrous wars commenced against the German Empire and Spain, which were nearly fatal to the house of Austria, and calamitous to the industry, finances, and prosperity of both the belligerent powers; who ravaged the countries of each other, sacrificed the lives of their subjects, without either side reaping any advantage—unless it were the acquisition of a few miles of territory, or the bringing forward into military distinction many renowned warlike captains. The first half of the seventeenth century was the age of Gustavus Adolphus; of John de Vert; of the Princes of Orange and Wallenstein; of Guebriant, Weimar, Piccolimini, and Harcourt; of Olivarus, Oxenstiern, Richelieu, and Mazarin. But those generals and statesmen desolated Europe; and, in 1637, the armies of the Empire and the north having threatened to besiege the capital, Richelieu was

under the necessity of subjecting each house, or *porte cochere* in Paris, to furnish a *laciquey*, or footman, as a recruit for the army, to enable him to drive the enemy from the gates of the metropolis.

At that period, however, the armies of Europe were small in numbers, in comparison to those which were afterwards levied by Louis XIV. and his successors. Artillery and the art of fortification were then remarkably defective; while cross-bows, pikes, and swords were the principal arms. War was declared by a herald, who rode on a stately prancer to the court of an enemy. Cardinals and prelates led armies to battle. Richelieu was not only minister of state, but, like the cardinals of Savoy, De la Valette, Trivulce, and numerous other priests, he commanded in the battle-field. During the reign of Louis XIII. the standing army of France never exceeded 80,000 men; and, notwithstanding the efforts and abilities of Richelieu, the navy continued insignificant; while the revenue was insufficient for maintaining the great warlike operations which he attempted.

The trade of France was at the same time engrossed by monopolists in the towns; agricultural industry was deranged in the country; and the police and administration of justice were neglected; while at the same time Richelieu pursued a hostile policy against the Empire and Spain, and observed little scruple as to the means he employed in the prosecution of his ambitious designs. He swayed the king in all his sentiments and actions; he insulted and oppressed Anne of Austria and Mary de Medici; and the true interests of France were made subservient to

his vanity, pride, and personal ambition. The results of his despotic administration were a general prostration of the industry of the country, and the utter disorder of the finances. The public roads in all parts of the kingdom were nearly impassable, and they were invested either by single robbers or organised bandits. Paris and other large towns were at the same time filled with thieves and housebreakers; the streets were narrow, irregularly paved, and disgustingly filthy; anarchy and disorder prevailed both in the capital and throughout the provinces; religious factions assailed and fought with each other; and the parliament of Paris and the *Chambre des Comptes* scandalously fought for precedence, within the cathedral of Notre Dame, on the same day that Louis XIII. placed his kingdom under the protection of the Virgin Mary by the advice of his confessor, in order to sanctify the king's connexion with Mademoiselle Lafayette.* Private duels were fought daily in each section of Paris; and it was asserted, with the probability of truth, that a greater number of French gentlemen were killed in those savage encounters by the hands of each other, than by the sword of foreign enemies. Ignorance, superstition, and debauchery, prevailed among the professors of the Romish Church; and the Reformers were distinguished by the ferocity and severity of their manners. Priests pretended to cast out devils from persons reputed to be possessed of demons; the Maréchale d'Ancre, daughter of the nurse of Mary de Medici, and a curate, were both

* Voltaire, Siècle de Louis XIV., vol. i., p. 215. Mémoires de Madame de Motteville. Petitot. Collec. de Mémoires. Paris, 1820-29.

burnt alive for the pretended crime of sorcery; and the magistrates of the law tribunals were more frequently occupied in trying persons accused of this imaginary crime than in administering justice. A man who adorned his horse in a fanciful manner was tried for witchcraft, and he and his horse were burnt alive: both having been found guilty of this visionary offence.

The polished manners and refined customs, for which the French nation afterwards became so justly distinguished, were unknown during the reign of Louis XIII., and during the greater part of the administration of Cardinal Richelieu. The virtuous and wise policy of Sully was completely reversed, first by Mary de Medici, and after her disgrace by Richelieu.

The cardinal minister, who probably entertained no conscientious religious sentiments, opened negotiations with Gustavus Adolphus; and while he persecuted the Calvinists in France, he, by dark and perfidious intrigues, sowed divisions in the Catholic league of Germany. Anne of Austria and Mary de Medici at one time prevailed on Louis XIII., while lying sick at Lyons, to disgrace the cardinal; and the two queens, with their courtiers, deliberated on the course to be adopted for destroying that ambitious ecclesiastic. Maréchal de Marillac offered to assassinate him; the Duke de Guise proposed to banish him from France; and Maréchal Bassompierre advised that he should be imprisoned for life in solitary confinement. But the king recovered; the cardinal evaded the attacks of his enemies—forced himself into the presence of

Louis XIII. at Versailles;—and while Mary de Medici, surrounded by courtiers, triumphed at the Luxembourg, Richelieu, on the 11th of November, 1630—celebrated afterwards as the "Day of Dupes"—acquired his usual influence over the king, and was restored to all his honours, emoluments, and power. He now determined to be revenged on his enemies.

The keeper of the seals, Marillac, a statesman of irreproachable character, was banished, and died in exile; his brother, the maréchal, was arrested suddenly, while in command of the army of Italy; Maréchal Bassompierre, renowned as a great military captain, was sent to the Bastile, where he lingered for twelve years. The courtiers of Mary de Medici, who did not escape from the kingdom, were all punished. In apparent frankness and pretended friendship for the queen-mother, Richelieu perfidiously resolved to destroy that princess. All her acts and movements were narrowly watched. It was said of her that, although violent and resolute in her character, she knew well how to conceal all her secrets, but never to hide her sentiments. Her words, her movements, and her interviews were noted down by the spies and other creatures of the cardinal; and, by his own hand chiefly, these reports were committed to a secret journal, which has been transmitted to posterity as an odious model of political casuistry, and imitated afterwards by several governments, who have treasured up for arbitrary purposes similar depositories of falsehood and perfidy. Mary de Medici, in regard to blood and spirit, was alike an Italian and a Florentine; and

Richelieu, on the plea that her presence was incompatible with the tranquillity of the state and the safety of the king, persuaded Louis to banish his mother from the kingdom.*

The project was contrived with remarkable perfidy. The cardinal, in order to mask the conduct of the son, who conspired against the liberty of his mother, arranged that Mary should not be driven from the court, but that Louis, who was with her at Compeigne, should leave her abruptly at that royal château, under the guard of Maréchal d'Etrées. But Mary, after four months of a melancholy residence at Compeigne, resolved to quit France suddenly; a step which she afterwards regretted during her whole life. It was as imprudent as the flight of Mary Stuart from Scotland to England, when that unfortunate queen threw herself on the honour and protection of Elizabeth. Gaston, the king's brother, had previously retired—first to his provincial government, and then to Spain. He and Mary de Medici forwarded accusations against the cardinal, to which the imbecile king replied by a counter-declaration, eulogising the great merits of the minister, and even saying to the deputies of the parliament of Paris, "Whoever loves me, will love the cardinal."†

A tribunal was then established for the purpose of confiscating the estates and chattels of all those who were associated with the queen-mother and her son Gaston. Richelieu, having by treachery revenged

* This vile diary was entitled, *Journal fait durant le Grand Orage de la Cour*. Her real crimes were far more pernicious to France.

† "*Quiconque m'aimera l'aimera.*"

himself upon his enemies, he converted the modest residence of the family of Plessis into a splendid château, in which apartments were fitted up for the king, and where the cardinal lived in the style and pomp of a sovereign. Maréchal de Marillac was imprisoned at Ruel, the cardinal's country seat, where a tribunal sat in opposition to the parliament, which had three times revoked the process against that eminent personage. Marillac was, however, judicially assassinated. Shortly afterwards, Gaston entered France at the head of an army. The Duc de Montmorency, having joined this revolt, was the second maréchal of France who, in the space of six months, perished on the scaffold. Multitudes of French gentlemen were condemned to be broken on the wheel, or drawn to pieces by four horses, to which they were affixed by their legs and arms; their property was all confiscated, and their houses levelled to the ground. Laffemas, the *intendant* of Champagne, acquired the surname of the "cardinal's executioner." Every man in authority, or who had been in authority, considered his person and life in danger. Maréchal d'Etrées, who commanded the army at Tréves, saved his head by leaving the kingdom. The cardinal, at this period, held a dispensation for shedding blood from the Pope.

Meantime, Richelieu erected for himself, in Paris, a magnificent residence, *notorious* as the *Palais Cardinal*—since that time remarkable in the history of Paris as the *Palais Royal*, and another palace called the *Hôtel de Richelieu*. He patronised and encouraged sculptors, painters, and architects, and

he rebuilt and greatly extended the edifices of the Sorbonne. In 1635, he founded the institution from which has originated the *Académie Française*. The King, whose piety sheltered him from suspicions of gallantry, was, however, vanquished by the beauty, grace, and wit of Mademoiselle Lafayette, who detested the cardinal. Through his confessor, she acquired an influence over the king which might have proved fatal to Richelieu, had she not been speedily torn from the society of Louis, and imprisoned in a cloister; and the confessor was sent by a *lettre-de-cáchet* to Rheims. Another Jesuit confessor to the king's sister, Christina of Savoy, having great influence over her, Richelieu endeavoured at first to detach him by presents, menaces, and flatteries, but without avail; whereupon the confessor was seized and sent to a fortress, where he ended his days. In the same way, one of the ministers of Christina, the Count d'Aglie, was arrested and confined in a dungeon at Vincennes. Destitute of all delicacy in resorting to expedients, the cardinal arrested the *couriers* of princes, and robbed them of their despatches, when his spies were considered defective. He had his agents and spies in Spain, and he planned a republic for Catalonia. He despatched his almoner upon an odious mission to excite the hatred of the Scotch, and the ferocity of the Puritans, in order to precipitate the downfal of Charles Stuart. But to record all the enormities of Richelieu would extend to several volumes.

Mary de Medici, the widow of Henry the Great, the mother of the king—of Gaston, the first of the Orleanist Bourbons—of Henrietta Maria, Queen of England,

and of another queen, died unregretted, in poverty, and in neglect at Cologne. Her character was stained with most of the vices of her family; and she possessed scarcely any of their virtues. Before the end of Cardinal Richelieu's administration, the tithes were exacted in France with great rigour, the rural inhabitants were harassed by his extortions, and driven to those open revolts, which, from their poverty, were designated by the name of "barefooted."*

A hatred of the cardinal, who had oppressed and disgusted the nobility, now became general among all classes. His secret spies and informers were spread all over the kingdom, and, by his system of corruption, they were enabled to penetrate into every assembly, and almost every domestic circle.

Among the favourites of the king was the Marquis de Cinq Mars, the second son of the Maréchal d'Effiat. He was frequently insulted by the cardinal, and, in the profusion of royal favours, he deplored his dependence on the court, which was divided into two factions—the Royalists and the Cardinalists. At this time, Richelieu was confined by sickness at Narbonne, but through his agents he intimated to the Prince of Orange that the alliance of the latter with France depended on the security of the first minister. A correspondence between Cinq Mars and Spain for the negotiation of a treaty was discovered by Richelieu; and the Duc de Bouillon, in whom the opposite faction had placed their hopes, was arrested at the head of his army. Cinq Mars, and his friend,

* Nuspieds.

De Thon, were suddenly arrested and immediately executed. Richelieu was then carried to Paris by eighteen of his guards in a large kind of litter, in which he slept; and as the gates of the city were too small for the admission of the machine, he entered through a breach made in the wall. Finding himself dying, he bade "adieu to the king," declaring "that he had the satisfaction of ridding his majesty from his enemies, and leaving the kingdom in the highest degree of glory." This ambitious statesman, who during life was feared, hated, and admired, expired on the 4th of December, 1642, leaving a character stained with the darkest crimes, and famed for the splendour of his daring actions.* He was, however, a great patron of arts and sciences; and no minister ever before gave so much of his attention to the architectural embellishment of Paris. Nor can it be denied that his ambition and his genius prepared France for the magnificent brilliancy and royal despotism of the age of Louis XIV.

On the 14th of May, 1643, five months after the death of Richelieu, Louis XIII. died, at the age of forty-two years. He was a superstitious prince, of good intentions and retired habits, but he possessed no energy for government. He is forgotten in history, being entirely eclipsed by the shining grandeur of Henry IV., Richelieu, Mazarin, and Louis XIV.

By his will he appointed a committee of regency,

* He was the real or reputed author of a great number of works. The book entitled "Testament Politique de Cardinal de Richelieu"—the best edition of which is that of 1764—is disputed by Voltaire, but admitted by the authors of the *Biographie Universelle* to be the work of the cardinal.

but his widow, Anne of Austria, induced the parliament of Paris to annul that testament; and usage, which had given the regency during the minority of the king to the queen-mother being tacitly admitted as a *fundamental law*, Anne was declared absolute regent; and Gaston, Duke of Orleans, lieutenant-general of the kingdom. The war with Spain was carried on since 1635 for no other reason than that it was the will of Cardinal Richelieu. The battle of Rocroi was fought by a young man without any military experience, Louis de Bourbon, afterwards famous as the Grand Condé, contrary to the orders of the court and the advice of Maréchal de l'Hospital; but the Bourbon gained this battle, and displayed extraordinary ability both in providing resources and in averting danger.

No such victory had been gained in Europe since the death of Gustavus Adolphus. This battle was followed up by the capture of Thionville and the battle of Friburg, but Turenne was soon after defeated at Marienthal, and Bourbon gained the battle of Norlingen. The following year he conquered Dunkirk; and numerous other victories were gained over the Spaniards and Imperialists during the three succeeding years. But few real advantages were gained to France by these brilliant engagements. Cardinal Mazarin became prime minister, —rather, however, of Anne of Austria, than of France. He was supported by the Duke of Orleans, and by the Prince of Condé. His difficulties were great, and arose chiefly from the embarrassed state of the finances, which, since the

administration of that great minister—the Duke de Sully—had been as profligately and ignorantly managed as those of Germany and Spain.

From the 19th of May, 1643—the day on which the battle of Rocroi was fought—until the 10th of August, 1648, when the battle of Lens was gained by the French, the number of their victories was greater than in the same number of years during any period of the monarchy. But the triumphs of those five years were attended with great slaughter, and France lost nearly as many men as her enemies, while the kingdom remained in a far less powerful condition than at the commencement of the war.

New sources or means of revenue now became necessary. An Italian, named Particelli Emeri—a man of low and profligate character—imposed ridiculous taxes, and made corrupt appointments for their collection. There were contractors of firewood, sworn sellers of hay, and royal commissioners for proclaiming the sale of wines. Imposts throughout the kingdom were increased, and many contemptible but oppressive taxes were levied. The prime minister and his incapable superintendent of finances were detested by the people, both as oppressors and Italians; both had robbed the public for their own aggrandisement; and illegal attempts at extorting money from the people, were in France as well as in England, followed by civil war. That in France commenced a little before the civil war in England had terminated by the execution of Charles I. Mazarin brought the foreign war of France to a close, by the treaty of Munster, in 1648; but while *Te Deum* was chanted at Notre Dame,

on the 10th of August, for the victory of Lens, the streets of Paris were intercepted by barricades, and by chains, which the insurgents stretched across the principal entrances. During that night more than two hundred barricades were formed; the Palais Royal was surrounded; and, under the leadership of Cardinal de Retz, on the day which is celebrated as "The Barricades," all Paris was armed against the court. This celebrated personage, without religion, became a coadjutor, although scarcely a priest; a cardinal, without morality, he became the idol of the Parisians. He had conspired against the life of Richelieu, and had distinguished himself by his debaucheries and plots before he attained the age of twenty-four years. He certainly may be considered as the founder of the barricades. He divided the parliament into factions, and drove the people into sedition. He, too, was of Italian origin.

The parliament of Paris was at this period, and until the revolution, considered by the court to have no pre-eminence over the other parliaments of France than that of its greater antiquity, and having succeeded those parliaments which had long represented the whole French nation; but it possessed none of the powers of the old assembly, and was, in fact, a parliament only by name. It was deemed a tribunal of justice, for the trial of local causes; but the power which it exercised was asserted to exist only by sufferance of the king,—and, in practice, the ancient parliaments of the nation were supplanted by the States-General.

But, nevertheless, the parliament of Paris, con-

sisting as it did of lawyers, who had purchased their offices as estates from the crown, formed an association, or company, who frequently proved troublesome to the government, and who even passed decrees against some of the king's. This factious, intelligent, active, and ambitious assembly, was at the same time considered by the citizens of Paris as a patriotic and august body of legislators, who dispensed justice without corruption, and with impartiality; and as the most legitimate and virtuous guardian of the people's rights against the arbitrary oppressions of unjust, corrupt, and ambitious ministers. The parliament of Paris was therefore called by the citizens the "Fathers of the State." While a vigorous king sat upon the throne, this company was powerless. Under a feeble sovereign, it arrogated and exercised great authority.

It was De Retz, and the lawyers that constituted the parliament of Paris, who caused the disturbances that now involved all France in a civil war. The queen-mother, her minister Mazarin, the Duke of Orleans, and even Condé, fled to St. Germain, followed by the whole court; and, in order to obtain a subsistence, the crown jewels were pledged to usurers. The members of the royal family, the youth Louis XIV., Henrietta, the widow of Charles I., all slept upon straw, within the unfurnished palace of St. Germain, and, from want of fuel to warm the apartments, they were obliged to remain during the greater part of the following day in bed.

After the example of the Long Parliament of England, the parliament of Paris declared war

against Anne of Austria, the young king, the cardinal, and all those who supported the royal cause. The grand chamber of the parliament of Paris, the *Chambre des Comptes*, the courts of aid, inquests, and requests—all of which had opposed the financial measures of Emeri—supplied money to levy and maintain troops; and a decree was issued, declaring all monies belonging to the partisans of the court to be sequestrated,—that each house, or *porte cochere*, should supply a man or a horse, or be taxed for the same. De Retz had his own particular regiment; and this war, called the *Fronde*,* probably broke out with no other real object than that of subverting the government. The Parisian troops, and especially the cavalry, sallied forth from the city, but were usually repulsed by the royal forces. If the more precise and gloomy Puritans were ridiculed by the Royalists of England, the *Frondeurs* of Paris appeared still more grotesque to the court of France, and they were made the objects of burlesque by Condé and the Royalists. But, instead of being grave and religious, the *Frondeurs* were licentious and dissolute. The war, or sedition of the *Fronde*, had no serious or practical object—no solidity of character—no gravity of manners. All were merry; women of immoral reputation headed factions, and love or passion formed or broke up cabals. The Duchess de Longueville—one of the most intriguing and loose women of the age—seduced Turenne—whom she ridiculed for his passion—into an attempt to make the army which he commanded revolt against the king, who had just created him a

* So called from *Frondeurs*, or Slingers.

maréchal of France. At length the war of the *Fronde* was suspended by the Prince of Condé bringing back to Paris the royal family and the court. But that prince soon formed a cabal or party, who not only ridiculed Mazarin, but defied Anne of Austria, and despised and insulted the government.*

Perhaps at no period did there prevail in France, and especially in Paris, less virtue and more vice. Each party, in its turn, betrayed the other; and each leader pretended to act for the public good, while he seized on his share of the public spoil to redeem his fortunes. Mazarin arrested Condé, his brother Conti, and his brother-in-law Longueville, merely because he dreaded those personages; and Condé was induced, by the crooked policy of the minister, actually to sign the order for his own detention in prison. "Never," observes Voltaire, "was it more evident that *politic* (in statesmen) is generally falsehood, and that *ability* is the power of discovering the *liar*."

Louis XIV. was then eleven years of age. Condé and the two other Bourbon princes, Condé and Conti, were confined at Vincennes, whence they were transferred to the prison of Havre, until the 13th of February, 1651. But the *Frondeurs* having claimed Condé, compelled the queen to dismiss Mazarin, who, after releasing the prisoners, fled to Liège, and afterwards to Cologne. De Retz vacillated, from being the friend at one time, to being the enemy at another, of Condé; and forced Anne of Austria to name and

* The faction of Condé was called, *Le Parti des Petites Mâitres*, on account of their wishing to be masters of the state.

appoint the author of "The Barricades"—he who had compelled the royal family to fly from the capital, which he had besieged—to the dignity of a cardinal.

Disorders still continued. Condé suddenly left Paris for the south of France, where he rekindled the civil war; while Mazarin returned from his exile at the head of an army of 7000 men, the command of which he afterwards gave to Hocquincourt; and, in order to distinguish them from the men of the king, the officers were adorned with white scarfs—those of the Prince of Condé being of a bay or orange colour. This vanity displayed by Mazarin, with regard to a special uniform for his own troops, was approved of by the queen.

In the mean time, Louis XIV. having attained his majority, he transferred the seat of the parliament of Paris to Pointoise. Fourteen members attached to the court obeyed his mandate; the others, in imitation of the Long Parliament in London, remained in Paris. The parliament of Paris then condemned the Prince de Condé as guilty of treason; and this assemblage of lawyers also declared war against the king. Condé entered into a league with the Spaniards, and, supported by the parliament of Bourdeaux, opened a campaign against the king, while Turenne, who had been cajoled into treason by the Duchess de Longueville, and had since then served in Spain, quitted that army, made peace with the court, and was appointed to the command of the army of the king. The financial poverty of the Royalists, and of Condé, prevented each maintaining a large army.

Louis XIV., who had been bred in adversity, wandered from province to province, accompanied by his mother, his brother, and Mazarin, with scarcely more than a body-guard; while Condé, with about 5000 men, marched from Bourdeaux into the heart of France,—captured several towns,—defeated Maréchal Hocquincourt; and the royal family were only saved by the skilful manœuvres of Turenne. Condé then marched towards Paris, where the citizens, who detested Mazarin, gloried in his triumph, and invoked St. Geneviève to hasten the expulsion of the prime minister. But the Duke of Lorraine, who had entered France to aid Condé, desolated the country on his march; and, although he received money from the prince, on receiving a much greater bribe from Mazarin, he perfidiously retreated to his own dominions. Turenne thereupon led Louis XIV.—then only fifteen years of age—towards Paris. The battle of the Faubourg St. Antoine was then fought, during which the gates of Paris were closed against the entrance or departure of any person. But Mademoiselle, the daughter of Gaston, Duke of Orleans, being within the city, opened the gates to the wounded, joined Condé, and directed that the cannon of the Bastile should be fired against the royal troops. Turenne retired; but Condé, who acquired some glory, secured no real advantage.

Paris, in the mean time, was nearly in a state of famine. The pound of bread was sold for about thirty sous, or two shillings of the present money, and a general scarcity prevailed throughout France. Superstitions, acts of vengeance, and murders of retalia-

tion, disgraced the nation. The great Condé kissed the *chasse* of St. Geneviève, in a procession, in order to attract the admiration of the populace. Nobles of the highest rank insulted and struck each other. The Duke of Orleans was declared lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and Condé was by the parliament of Paris named generalissimo of the army; and the court was compelled to sacrifice Mazarin, and to expel him for the second time from the kingdom. On the 22nd of October, 1652, Louis XIV. was enabled to return to Paris. Condé was abandoned by nearly all his partisans, and was only feebly supported by the Spaniards; and the caprices of the people were such that Louis was enabled to recal Mazarin; who was received by the king as a father, by the people as a master, and was feasted at the Hôtel de Ville amidst the mad acclamations of the inconstant citizens.

He cast silver in showers among the mob; while he despised the folly and inconsistency of the Parisians; and while Condé lay under sentence of death for contumacy, his brother, the Prince de Conti, was married to a niece of the cardinal.

Mazarin, who now directed—or, rather, whose will was the government—for some time adopted a neutral line of policy towards the Commonwealth; although the latter was viewed with sentiments of hatred by the court and aristocracy of France.

As far back as October, 1648, while Charles I. was the prisoner of the army, and immediately after the United Provinces had achieved their independence, the importation into France of any woollen or silk manufacture from England or Holland was pro-

hibited by royal edict. The Long Parliament immediately voted that the wines, and silks, and woollen manufactures of France, should not be imported into England; by which pernicious acts a war of material interest commenced between both countries, and led to the seizure and pillage of British merchant vessels by those of France, and to reprisals on the vessels of France by the commanders of the British fleet.

The naval power of France had been neglected under Richelieu. It fell into ruin under Mazarin, and in the last years of the first half, and for some time after the commencement of the second half of the seventeenth century, France was, by internal war, the profligacy of the Gallican Church, and the immorality and disorders of the aristocracy, reduced to greater misery and poverty than any other kingdom in Europe.

It was on this groundwork of calamities that Louis XIV. assumed, with daring and absolute despotism, the whole power of the state; that, *en cavalier*, in hunting-boots and spurs, and with his whip in hand, he told the parliament he would have no such miserable assemblies.

From that day the monarch reigned in France as a magnificent despot. By his flatterers and courtly historians he was called *The Grand.* He reigned alone: for "*l'Etat c'est moi*"—"I am the State"—was his declared maxim. He shed military splendour and luxurious brilliancy over his camps and courts. He gave his name to the age. There was no liberty; there was pomp and superstition, instead of simple piety and rational worship; but this age was distinguished by a refined civilisation; by arts, sciences,

literature, and the *drama;* by learning and oratory. The eloquence of the pulpit was scarcely ever equalled. The literature was refined, the language purified and enriched. Sculpture, architecture, ornamental gardening, painting, engraving, and music, attained their highest standard. It was to France what the age of the Medici was to Italy. It was an age of philosophers, jurists, historians, poets, mathematicians, painters, and sculptors, and of many eminent and virtuous divines: such as Bossuet, Fenelon, and Masillon. But generally in society, that is, in the court and among the *noblesse*, there was little virtue or morality. Louis XIV. levied taxes at will, for no parliament would dare refuse to register the taxes to be levied upon his most laborious and most virtuous subjects. The *low people—bas peuple* as they were insolently designated—that is to say, those who were not of baronial or hierarchical rank, were as supplicants admitted to the *States-General* as the *tiers-état*, not with any representative power, but on their bended knees, to be taxed in mercy and pity.* The aristocracy, whose families held nearly all the great ecclesiastical benefices, were never taxed. Neither were the clergy. All France—all the nations of Europe—were dazzled by the magnificence of the palaces, the gorgeousness of the retinue, and the fame of the campaigns of this absolute sovereign; for whose favour and bequests the nobility abandoned their feudal rights and dignities—the cavaliers their honour—and the ladies their chastity: for whom his courtiers became perfidious to all others

* "Elle la population n'y paɪit que à genoux pour y être taillée à merci, et misericorde."—*Thiers' Hist. de la Revolution Française*, vol. i., p. 1.

—often to one another—and guilty of the most unblushing immorality, vice, injustice, and intrigue.

This was the general character of court and aristocratic society; but there were some splendid exceptions, of men distinguished for virtue, wisdom and honour.

Louis XIV. became the most powerful sovereign in Christendom. Yet this grand monarch condescended to court and form an alliance with Oliver Cromwell, who, born the son of a country gentleman in Huntingdon, afterwards emerged, from his farm, out of the fens of Cambridgeshire, into the Long Parliament, and rendered himself Lord Protector and Sovereign of the British Empire.

SPAIN.

This kingdom had formerly the democratic Cortes of Castile and Arragon, and popular assemblies in other provinces, which enforced a stringent limit on the power of their kings. Her liberty was partly lost under Ferdinand and Isabella; greatly under Charles V. and Philipp II.; and continued to decline under Philipp III. and Philipp IV., who lost Portugal, which had been added to Spain by his predecessors. The province of Rousillon had lately fallen under the power of France; and the oppression of the Spanish government caused the separation of Catalonia from the other states of the kingdom. The persecutions of the Spaniards also forced the people of the United Provinces into a desperate resistance; in which, under the princes of the house of Orange, they were successful, and

ultimately released themselves for ever from the absolutism of the Spanish yoke.

But while Spain and Austria united against the other powers of Europe, their resources and forces remained great and formidable.

In the history of the world no other instance of a kingdom will be found which attained greater riches and power at one period than Spain, and which declined more rapidly in wealth and grandeur.

The wealth of her Indies, and her vast transatlantic dominions, instead of rendering Spain formidable, as all other European powers apprehended, formed leading causes, in the train of a bigoted and persecuting Hierarchy, and of an absolute and unwise government, of the weakness and dishonour which prostrated or embarrassed Spanish glory and power.

The colonial policy of Spain was selfish, intolerant, restrictive, and fallacious, from the foundation of the first settlement in Hayti, until the expulsion of Spanish power from the continent of America.

This policy excluded all but Spaniards from those regions, and confined the trade to a direct intercourse with Spain. Agriculture was discouraged, in order that Spain might possess the monopoly of supplying with food all the people of the vast territories conquered by her adventurers in the West. Spain, haughty and intolerant, based her commercial and colonial system on possessing and securing within herself all articles of necessity—all kinds of luxury—all the materials of wealth—all

the elements of power. First, by prohibiting the entrance, for home consumption, of the products of any nation, except those of her colonial empire; and, secondly, by forcing the latter to consume no manufactured article, and none of food, except those exported from certain ports in Spain. This pernicious legislation was grounded on the specious policy, that, as all the precious metals would necessarily be transported to the mother country, they would remain in Spain if they were not required to pay for foreign commodities; that the precious metals constituted riches; and that wealth constituted power.

But, in defiance of this fallacious policy, the gold, silver, and precious stones flowed off to foreign countries,—both from the colonies and from Spain,—nearly as rapidly as they were robbed from the natives of Hayti, Mexico, and Peru, or drawn from the mines, by the millions of American and African slaves, who have been exterminated, under the cruel toils to which they were, by avarice and tyranny, doomed.

The effects which resulted from the Spanish conquests, in the islands and on the continent of America, are remarkable. Into no country did such immense treasures flow as into Spain. In no country was there so little money to be found, either in circulation, or in the royal treasury. There was neither order nor economy in the finances of the government; and unless it were among the rural, or other labouring classes, there was no frugality in the expenditure of individuals. Money was borrowed at usury. The gold and

silver, which the galleons brought annually to Cadiz from the New World, did not suffice to pay the debts which Spain owed in the Old. Agriculture, at home and in the colonies, was despised and neglected. Other branches of industry decayed, and several disappeared. The Indies, instead of strengthening the power of Spain, rendered, with concurrent causes, that monarchy gradually impotent in Europe. This poverty and weakness was chiefly caused by the genius of the Spanish policy. In order to retain conquests, the natives were exterminated. The spirit of government was tyranny, —the doctrine of the Church was persecution—the maxim of trade was monopoly. The long duration of these fallacies made them, in Spanish wisdom, venerable. The Spaniards fancied that the precious treasures of the New World were exhaustless. They imagined their power invincible. Their ambition and pride measured no limits. The consequent wars in Europe, and the retention of the Indies, diminished the number of inhabitants, and demoralised the remaining population. The wealth and strength of the country became exhausted by the waste of its resources, by the decreased powers of production at home, and by the plunder of its fleets by the enemy. All these social, moral, and political evils and disasters, caused national poverty and public discredit. The Spanish troops were ever brave—yet they were ill paid, badly fed, and wretchedly clothed. They were skilfully disciplined, and gallantly commanded—but they were generally defeated. The people of the United Provinces—of a mere fragment of Spanish dominion—of a marsh,

a *débris* of river deposits and sea-sand, assumed and effected independence, and constructed fleets, which swept those of their former tyrants from off the ocean. Spain, by insulting, roused and organised the power and wrath of other nations. Of England and France, Spain was especially jealous. England, and afterwards Holland, became her most formidable naval rivals. The precious metals of America, and the inalienable hereditary privileges and *castes*, enervated the ruling minority of the Spanish races, and enslaved all the rest. The spirit of industry, trade, and navigation,—tempestuous weather, and dangerous seas, rendered the great majority of the English and Dutch active, hardy, bold, and victorious. The minority were animated and emboldened by the example.

We are seldom justified in ascribing the great affairs—the policy and the prosperity, or calamity of nations—to any one cause. Hume, alluding to France and Spain, observed, "that had Henry IV., Richelieu, Mazarin, and Louis XIV. been Spaniards, and Philip II. been French, the history of those two nations would have been reversed."*

PORTUGAL.

Portugal having effected her independence, joined, in 1614, Holland and France in a league against Spain: increased her commerce and her plantations in Brazil,—extended her East India trade,—aug-

* Spain, at the present time, if freed from the domination of the Romish Hierarchy,—we mean the political strangulation which that Hierarchy inflicts on civil and religious liberty,—may rise to the first rank of the nations of Europe. The people of Spain are capable of doing great things.

mented her power, and enriched her people; but those advantages were afterwards enfeebled by the folly of the government, and the intolerance of the Church.

GERMANY.

Germany at this period was divided into factions of Protestants and Papists. When united, the several states of the Empire became formidable to Europe; but when divided as they have been at all times, and especially at the commencement of the Reformation, and during the Thirty Years' War of religion, the German power was comparatively weak, and directed chiefly to ruining Germany by intestine wars, and still further by foreign aggression; while France was at war with the emperor and Spain, and while Oliver Cromwell, for the first time, gave from England powerful aid to Louis XIV.

All the free imperial cities, and the Hanse Towns, — all Saxony, — a great part of Brandenburg, Wittemburg, Hesse Electoral, and Darmstadt,—the Palatinate,—and a portion of Bohemia, embraced the Lutheran or evangelical doctrines. The house of Hapsburg, Bavaria, the territories of the Archbishops of Mayence, Treves, and Cologne, and the territory which depended on Aix-la-Chapelle, remained under the Catholic Hierarchy.

The wars of religion had in consequence devastated a great portion of the country. The victories of Gustavus Adolphus and of his generals continued to humble the Empire until the peace of Westphalia; but with respect to the arts, sciences, and the conveniences and the luxuries of life—the refinement of manners, and the morals of society, the

German states were at this time far in arrear of France, and even of England and Holland. In our view of the Papacy and the Empire, we have included much that relates to the German Empire.

HOLLAND.

The history of the people of the United Provinces afford examples of perseverance, hardihood, industry, and success, unparalleled among other nations of Europe. Driven down among the marshes, waters, morasses, and sands, which constituted the Rhenish Delta, they for a long time subsisted on the produce of fishing and pasture. They became navigators and traders from necessity, as their country naturally yielded little else than grass, reeds, and brushwood. They did not possess any solid materials for the construction of habitations, boats, or ships; but by untiring industry and constant economy they were enabled to build houses and cities on spots to which they were compelled to carry the materials which have formed their foundations and their superstructures. All the materials necessary for constructing, equipping, and provisioning ships, they had to search for in foreign countries; but they finally rendered the United Provinces secure against the inundations of the ocean and of the Rhine; and to transform morasses and lagunes into a great entrepôt for the commodities of the world. They constructed fleets which harassed, plundered, and defeated those of their former tyrants; and being acknowledged by the peace of Westphalia an independent and formidable sovereign republican state, their government tolerated all religions, excepting

Roman Catholic; and invited all the oppressed of other countries to find a home, personal security, and independence of mind within the bounds of the new republic. This republic was now, however, divided unfortunately into those factions which led to a ruinous war with England.

RUSSIA AND POLAND.

Russia had not yet entered into the political system of Europe. Frequently at war with Poland, the latter was still considered more powerful than Muscovy. Yet Poland was a feeble power in consequence of having an elective king,—of the extortions of the aristocracy,—and, the slavery of the people. The cities and towns of Poland were few and insignificant. The nobles and retainers had, it is true, palaces at Cracow and Warsaw, and some other towns; but they resided more frequently on their estates in the country, and this class composed a *cavalry*, which was the chief defence of the country; the foot soldiery of Poland being then scarcely worth notice. The kingdom was attacked and ravaged sometimes by the Turks, at other times by the Muscovites, and yet more successfully by the Swedes.

The Greeks had given a wife to the Czar and a religion to Russia. But at the period of which we are now writing, Muscovy requires no further reference.

SWEDEN, NORWAY, AND DENMARK.

Sweden, in the seventeenth century, had a thoroughly constitutional government; the peasants even being represented in the States-General. The

victories gained by Gustavus Adolphus, the policy of Oxenstiern, and the successes of the great military commanders, who led the armies after the death of Gustavus Adolphus, rendered this power formidable and disastrous to Germany.

Denmark, to which Norway was joined, and which possessed Iceland, carried on a respectable navigation and trade, encouraged science and literature; and although the power of this kingdom was at one time formidable as a secondary state, it was nearly altogether overlooked at the peace of Westphalia.

SWITZERLAND.

The Swiss Cantons had long enjoyed liberty and independence. Among their mountains and valleys they enjoyed pastoral happiness, but neither their situation nor their political condition were in the seventeenth century of any consequence to England.

TURKEY.

The power of the Turkish Empire now ceased to be regarded as one of so formidable and dangerous a character in Europe as it had been during the reigns of the most eminent sultans. But after the Persian war, and the suppression of internal revolution, the Turkish power revived, and the Moslems devastated Hungary, Greece, and the Greek island. In 1644 the Turks commenced the long and terrible siege of Candia; and the first great check to their power was the celebrated defeat of Kara Mustapha and his army near the gates of Vienna, by John Sobieski, who was treated with contumely by the foolish and haughty emperor, whose metropolis and dominions he had rescued.

THE TREATY OF WESTPHALIA.

This treaty, and the epoch which followed, will ever be memorable in the history of Europe. England was no party either to its negotiation or its stipulations. These were conducted while the British isles were involved in civil war. It was concluded during the year, which overturned the royalty and the hierarchy, and in which a commonwealth government was established in Great Britain and Ireland.

A dread of political and military supremacy had arisen among the nations of Christendom before and during the Thirty Years' War. This fear, which disturbed the tranquillity of crowned heads, was caused chiefly by the pre-eminence which the Catholic and Apostolic House of Hapsburg had attained:—First, by the marriage of Maximilian with Mary, the only daughter and heiress of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy; and, secondly, by the succession of the Hapsburg family to the crown of Spain and the Indies in the person of Charles V This emperor was the grandson of Maximilian and Mary, through his father, Philipp the Handsome, and he was also grandson of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, the parents of his mother, the unfortunate insane Joanna.

The crown of Spain and the Indies, it is true, became again a distinct monarchy from that of Austria on the abdication of Charles V.; but, retaining Portugal, with the additional sovereignty over the Low Countries, the attitude of this House of Hapsburg rendered Philipp II. formidable to the liberties of Europe; and, while the same Catholic

family held supremacy in Germany,—Spain and Austria continued the greatest enemies and persecutors of the Protestants, until the peace of Westphalia terminated the armed wars of religion.

The struggles for civil liberty and religious freedom in the Low Countries, and among the Protestants of Germany and of Sweden,—the jealousy entertained by France of Spain and the house of Austria,—the persecutions and wars of religion and of ambition, which had devastated Germany and the Netherlands, formed the causes which demanded redress,—exposed public and personal grievances,—and which claimed securities against future oppression during the celebrated negotiations at Munster and Osnaburg, from 1644 to 1648. These were finally adjusted by France, Sweden, and the emperor signing the treaties, which are commonly called the Peace of Westphalia. A treaty was also signed soon after by Holland and Spain, in which the latter acknowledged the independency of the seven United Provinces of the Netherlands.

CHAPTER XI.

NAVAL WAR—PRINCE RUPERT'S ADVENTURES—HOSTILITIES AGAINST PORTUGAL AND SPAIN.

THE division of the fleet which had rebelled against the parliament was commanded by Prince Rupert. In December, 1648, he hovered off the coast. He entered several harbours in Ireland, and piratically captured several valuable merchant vessels with their cargoes.* In June, 1649, Blake, with a squadron, blockaded Rupert in the port of Kinsale; but the latter, with admirable tactics, forced his way into the open sea, and, after the loss of three ships, escaped, and sailed for Portugal,† with the buccaneering object to annoy British merchantmen returning to, or sailing from, English ports. In January, 1650, the British fleet having been rendered formidable by the skilful and judicious administration of Sir Harry Vane, and by the practical management of Blake, who had previously to the civil war no experience in nautical affairs, a squadron commanded by the latter sailed for the port of Lisbon with the parliamentary

* Clarendon, p. 207. Thurloe, pp. 115-142.
† Whitelock, October 5th.

envoy, Charles Vane, on board. The latter on landing was immediately received by the king. He requested that the English admiral, in accordance with a previous treaty, should be allowed to enter the harbour; and he claimed for the Commonwealth the ships now seduced by Rupert, as belonging to the English navy, and as constructed and equipped by the parliament. He regarded Rupert and his force as mutineers and sea robbers, and therefore insisted that they should be ordered out of the port of Lisbon, threatening, in the event of a refusal, that Admiral Blake would enter and capture them as the rightful property of England. The application was refused, and Blake attempted to enter the Tagus by force, but his ships were fired upon from the castles with such effect, that he was compelled to retreat.*

Blake was soon after reinforced by eight powerful ships, under the command of Admiral Popham; and a fleet under Admiral Deane was stationed for the protection of the British Channel.

Blake was instructed to make reprisals on the Portuguese trade, unless Rupert were forced out of the Tagus. The court of Lisbon still refused, and Blake captured five ships, richly laden, from Brazil; and soon after a fleet of merchant ships were intercepted on the voyage from Lisbon to Brazil, and nine vessels were seized by him laden with the property of English Royalists in Portugal.†

Vane, the minister, left Lisbon secretly, and went on board of the English fleet. The Portuguese government, in consequence, threw all the English

* Thurloe, pp. 141, 145. Heath, pp. 256, 267.
† Whitelock, June 8th. Journals, July 2nd and 4th, and Sept. 9th.

merchants who professed adherence to the Commonwealth into prison. A Portuguese ship, valued at 100,000*l.*, was, after an obstinate engagement, sunk by Blake; and he soon after attacked the Brazil fleet, consisting of twenty-three large ships, sunk the flagship of the admiral, and captured the vice-admiral and ten ships of the war fleet.*

The proud and unwise court of Lisbon, at length, finding that their trade with Brazil and other countries would be annihilated by the British admiral, ordered Rupert with his fleet to sail from the Tagus.

The prince withdrew no further than under the shelter of the castles, where Blake could not advance to attack him, and ultimately, by a far more dexterous manœuvre than he ever manifested when fighting for his unfortunate uncle, Charles I., he escaped to the open sea. He then sailed to the Mediterranean as far as Marseilles, returned towards the straits, and intercepted and burnt six English merchant ships near Malaga. But he was pursued by Blake, who captured one ship, and ran all the others, except two, on shore; and with these two Rupert sailed to the West Indies, where his brother Maurice was lost during a hurricane, and from whence he returned to France and sold his two ships to Mazarin.

Thus ended the naval adventures of this gallant, ambitious, rash, and desperate prince. He was long adored by hero worship. During his latter exploits he was a *Corsair*.

In addition to several ships of the Brazil fleet which Blake had captured, he also captured and sent six French ships to England. He likewise captured

* Whitelock, Oct. 15th and 25th; Sept. 3rd and 9th.

a large French ship of war, which was stationed at Gibraltar for the purpose of intercepting English merchant vessels. Those French ships were of great burden, and laden with prizes estimated at 1,000,000*l.** Engagements between English and French vessels of war were frequent during this year, and, according to Whitelock, the English were generally triumphant.

Proposals of peace and amity were soon after transmitted to the British Commonwealth by the courts of Portugal and Spain.† With the latter an alliance was concluded, in a spirit of cordiality and friendship, early in 1651. After some ineffectual attempts and demands made by the British parliament on Portugal for an indemnification with regard to all the expenses of fitting out an armament to obtain justice, the negotiations were finally broken off, and Guimaraes, the Portuguese envoy, was ordered to quit the British dominions.‡

* Whitelock, November 29th and December 5th.
† Journals, December 24th.
‡ Journals of Parliament, April 10th, 22nd; and May 16th.

CHAPTER XII.

THE WAR OF THE COMMONWEALTH AGAINST HOLLAND—EMBASSY SENT TO THE HAGUE—NAVAL BATTLES—FRUITLESS NEGOTIATIONS—RETURN OF ST. JOHN—DUTCH EMBASSY TO LONDON—THE ENGLISH NAVY AND SAILORS.

THE leading men of the parliament, especially Cromwell and Vane, had early conceived the project of forming a grand federal union between Great Britain, Ireland, and the seven United Provinces.* Both were independent republics—both were Protestant, commercial, and maritime nations; but William II., Prince of Orange, and the States-General having espoused the cause of his brother-in-law, Charles II., the project of an alliance and federation was unfavourably received by the Dutch government.

In November, 1650, the Prince of Orange died of the small-pox. Eight days afterwards his princess gave birth to a son, who, in 1688, became William III., King of England. The aristocratical party succeeded to power; one of their principal leaders, Bicker, was appointed pensionary of Holland, and the stadtholderate was abolished, or rather held in abeyance.

* Thurloe, p. 130. "*Faccamus cos in gentum unam*" was an early dictum of the Commonwealth men when negotiating with the Dutch government.

It was now determined by the council of state and the parliament, and especially by Oliver Cromwell and Sir Harry Vane, that a conspicuous and dignified embassy should be sent to Holland in order to negotiate with the States-General an alliance of strict union, offensive and defensive, with the view of rendering the respective governments of the Commonwealth and the United Provinces formidable in their relations to all the other states of Europe. For this purpose a person of high family and dignity was considered necessary, and Oliver St. John, chief justice of the Common Pleas, was accordingly chosen. By his own statement, the honour had been conferred upon him "against his will," and he "had used all means in his power to be excused from the appointment."* No man, however, could have been better adapted for this important mission. His family was of high standing—his knowledge was profound—his judgment solid, and his sagacity remarkable. His conversation, wit, temper, and mind, were admirably suited for conciliation, and for acquiring an ascendancy over the minds and dispositions of others. He was also a master in that wariness of disposition, and that dissimulation of speech, which have been long considered as essential qualities in a diplomatist.†

The states of Holland, considering that their commerce was of far greater importance than the policy of William of Orange, and his attachment and that of the States-General for Charles II., sent Gerard Schaape, a member of the council of Amsterdam, as

* Case, p. 25. Journals, May 23rd and 28th.

† Whitelock, however, remarks, that St. John was at this time "the creature of Cromwell." February 1.

a special envoy of their province to the Commonwealth, before the death of William II., with powers to acknowledge the sovereignty of the parliament under such titles as the latter might desire. But, in consequence of the conduct of the States-General, and the murder of Dorislaus, the English parliament and council of state acquainted Joachim, the ordinary resident of Holland in London, that his presence in England was no longer desirable.*

In January, 1651, St. John, as the ambassador, and Strickland, the late resident in Holland, as his associate, were commissioned by parliament to proceed to the Hague, for the purpose of proposing, negotiating, and concluding a treaty of intimate union between the two republics. The embassy was fitted out with all the dignity which was considered suitable for the representatives of a great nation. This embassy was accompanied by a suite of forty gentlemen of rank and distinction. Thurloe, who had been brought up in the household of St. John, was his private secretary; and they made their entrance into the Hague in twenty-seven coaches, and with two hundred and forty-six followers.† But the Orange party excited the populace of the Hague to insult them by foul names, and by the epithet of *regicides*, as they entered the village. Yet St. John and his colleagues were admitted to an audience with the States-General on the 20th of March, and were treated by the government with all the respect and consideration which appertains to the ambassadorial dignity. They were,

* Kerroux, "History of Holland," vol. ii., p. 644. Leyden, 1778. Wicquefort, "Histoire des Provinces Unies," p. 162. Journals, May 24th, September 26th.

† Le Clerc, pp. 307, 308.

however, perplexed by the intrigues of the Orange party, who excited the populace to insult and annoy them; and that faction even proceeded so far as repeatedly to break the windows of their hotel. Prince Edward, a younger brother of Prince Rupert, basely insulted St. John in the open street, knowing that he could neither, in the capacity of an ambassador or a judge, chastise this privileged young savage as a duellist. When summoned to answer for his conduct before the States-General, he replied that he was a prince of the Empire, and not to be controlled by their jurisdiction; and he therefore left Holland.* Among those who made a point of insulting the ambassadors, were the pages of the princess royal, widow of William II. of Orange, and a plot was discovered in which a cavalier named Apsley had undertaken to strangle St. John while asleep in his own apartment.†

St. John began his negotiations by proposing a renewal of the commercial treaty, which had been entered into between Henry VII. and the Flemish government in 1495—a treaty which De Witt acknowledged to be highly favourable to Dutch commerce, and especially to their fisheries. But it soon became evident that no party in the United Provinces was favourable to the proposals of the Commonwealth; and the proposed union was regarded as scarcely less than absorbing the Dutch republic

* Kerroux, p. 645. "Histoire de Corneille et Jean de Witt," vol. i., pp. 61, 63. Heath, p. 286. Le Clerc, p. 310. Journals, April 29th. Thurloe, p. 179.

† Whitelock, April. Prince Edward is said to have been privy to this attempted assassination; and after he retired from the Hague some of his associates were arrested and punished, either by public flogging or banishment.

into the government of the Commonwealth;* while the Orange party resolved, by intrigues and the most odious demeanour, to frustrate all the proposals which were made by St. John.

As the embassy was special, and limited to time—and which was even implied by appointing as the first minister one of the chief justices of England—it was necessary that the negotiations should be completed or terminated within a given period; but St. John, anxious not to be accused of precipitation, remained for three months; and having failed in all the objects of his mission, he had his leave of audience of the States-General on the 20th June.†

At this time the house of Orange,—its faction,—and the Royalists, promulgated, with great industry, that the success of Charles in Scotland was so great, the discontents in England so general, and the authority of the parliament so feeble, that a speedy termination of the government of the Commonwealth was certain and inevitable. But while the Dutch government, as well as the Orange party, either misunderstood or wilfully misrepresented the condition of England, Scotland, and Ireland, the power of the parliament, and of the army of the Commonwealth, they were soon to be made sensible of the truth of the farewell statement delivered by St. John to the committee of the States-General, when he had his audience of leave. "I perceive," said he, "that their high mightinesses are waiting the issue of affairs in Scotland, that they may regulate their carriage to our government accordingly, and for that reason they

* De Witt, vol. i., p. 60.
† Thurloe, pp. 181, 188, 191, 192.

have slighted the overtures with which we were charged. It is true that some members of our parliament dissuaded this embassy, and advised that we should first finish our war in Scotland, and then expect your representatives on our shores. But I thought more honourably of you. I was wrong; and I now confess that those cautious advisers understood you better. Take my word for it, however, our Scottish campaign will soon be terminated as our warmest friends would wish, and you will repent your having so lightly treated the proposals we have made."*

On the return of St. John to England, the council of state and the parliament, on its being represented that the ministers of the Commonwealth were not received with that dignity and respect by the citizens of Holland which the honour of a great nation demanded, resolved that the dignity of England should stand on the proud and formidable basis of a great naval, as well as a strong military, power; and that the Dutch should be chastised for their recent conduct. St. John immediately drew up and introduced into parliament a resolution, which became law on the 9th of October, 1651,† and remained in force from that day until the year 1849. It provided that no article of produce of the British plantations should be imported into England, Scotland, or Ireland, excepting in ships, the property of England or of the colonies; and that no article, the produce or manufacture of any state of Europe, should be imported into England, excepting in ships the property of

* De Witt, p. 63. Case of St. John, pp. 2, 3. Le Clerc, p. 113.
† Journals, August 5.

England, or of the countries of which the goods were the produce or manufacture.

Letters of *marque* were then issued, in consequence of certain merchants complaining that they had been injured in their commerce by the Dutch government; and in a few weeks no less than eighty Dutch merchant vessels were captured by the English vessels bearing those letters of *marque.** In the mean time, extraordinary preparations for building and equipping ships of war were made in the naval dockyards.

These dignified and energetic measures had an immediate effect upon the Dutch, who, however, laid an embargo on all the English ships in their ports. The power of England after the battle of Worcester, the suppression of civil war both in Scotland and Ireland, and the vigorous efforts of the parliament to render the British fleet great and powerful, all rendered peace and friendship necessary for the protection of the commerce and navigation of the United Provinces. It was therefore resolved by the States-General that an embassy should be sent to London, in order to resume the negotiations for the treaty, which they had formerly entertained with indifference when proposed by St. John, who, with his colleague, had proceeded to the Hague, with the most friendly and just instructions from the British parliament. A late pensionary of Holland, Kats, with two assistants, were sent from the States to London, in order to negotiate personally with the parliament proposals which had previously

* Scobel's Acts, 1651, cap. 32. Le Clerc, p. 314. Elenchus, part ii., p. 122.

been made by the Dutch, in a despatch addressed to the Commonwealth.* Kats proposed a league, offensive and defensive, to the council of state, and a commission of that council was nominated to negotiate with the Dutch ambassadors. It would appear that neither party were really in earnest in those negotiations. The Orange faction in Holland affected to despise the naval power of England, and the great number of Dutch trading vessels captured by the English privateers irritated the citizens of Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and the ports of North Holland and Zeeland. In the council of the Dutch admiralty, the Orange party and a majority of the members appear to have had the power of acting independently of the States-General. Van Tromp, an officer of undaunted bravery,—a decided Orangeist, and commander of the Dutch fleet, swayed the proceedings of this council. Instead of a treaty of peace, one hundred and fifty powerful ships of war were ordered to be equipped or built; and all to sail under his command early in the month of May. Frequent conflicts occurred in the mean time between English and Dutch merchant vessels; while the smaller ships of war belonging to each state had occasional engagements.†

On the 19th of May, while Blake, with twenty ships of war, rode at anchor in the Downs, Van Tromp appeared with a fleet of forty ships, and anchored near the British fleet, pretending that he was driven in by stress of weather. He was required to strike

* Journals, October 15th, December 15th, 19th, and 25th. Whitelock, December 15th. "Narrative of the Audience," p. 6.

† Reply of Parliament to offers delivered by the Dutch envoys, June 5, p. 4. Whitelock, June 8. Clarendon.

his flag in honour of British superiority within the narrow seas; but, instead of acknowledging this assumption on the part of England, he fired a broadside into Blake's flag-ship. An irregular fight followed, and continued for about two hours. One Dutch ship was taken and another sunk, while the English flag-ship, against which the Dutch shot was chiefly directed, had several of her crew killed and many wounded. The fight was not resumed; and when the Dutch ambassadors were reproved for this act of unjustifiable aggression, and on a communication to that effect being forwarded to Holland, the States-General having recalled Kats, sent the pensionary, Adrian Pauw, Seigneur of Heemstedt, as an ambassador to London, in order to apologise for the outrage committed by Van Tromp.* He arrived in London early in June, when he endeavoured to prove that the hostile attack made by Van Tromp was no more than an unfortunate and untoward accident, arising from an offence first given by Blake. He proposed that all further hostilities should cease between the ships of the Commonwealth and those of the United Provinces; that the negotiations for a treaty should proceed without further delay; and he even agreed, on the part of the States-General, that their ships should strike their flag, within the narrow seas, in honour to the flag of England.†

But the English parliament were now in the spirit of assuming, and possessed the power to enable them to maintain, a bold and dignified attitude; and,

* Journals. Kerroux, vol. ii., p. 647.
† Papers annexed to the Proceedings of Parliament.

accordingly, a strong declaration was drawn up, in which they expressed their opinion that it was impossible to separate the attack on the 19th of May, from the great increase recently made in the Dutch fleet, and the active preparations in the naval arsenals of Holland. It was insisted, as necessary, that the Commonwealth of England should maintain her naval power in such a state of strength as to guard her coasts and her commerce against all foreign aggressions, and also to enforce reparation for past outrages.*

On Pauw requesting a statement of the parliament for past injuries, it was communicated that the Commonwealth of England insisted on full payment of all expenses and damages suffered by England, in consequence of the hostile armaments and aggressions of the United Provinces; that, until payment or security for the liquidation of those losses were given, the negotiations would not be resumed, or any promise given for the cessation of hostilities. Pauw, on the other hand, considered that the trade and navigation of the United Provinces were injured to an extent fully as great as that of the Commonwealth, and that in equity a balance of injuries should then be struck, in order to obliterate all past and present misunderstandings.† But on the 30th of June, in obedience to letters of recal, the Dutch ambassadors had their audience of leave, and departed from England.‡

These negotiations for the maintenance of peace unfortunately ended without any good result, partly

* Declaration of parliament, 9th July, and Supplementary Papers.
† Le Clerc, pp. 315, 320. ‡ Journals.

in consequence of the intrigues of the Orange faction in Holland, who had interfered with the ministers of the United Provinces in London, and partly from the secret spirit of ambition entertained by the leading members of the council of state and parliament of the Commonwealth. A hostile policy towards the Dutch was then voted by the parliament, and on the 9th of July they proceeded to justify this policy in a declaration, in which they instanced the cruelties inflicted by the Dutch upon the English in the island of Amboyna in 1623; asserted that the Pretender was received with hospitality in Holland, and that his expedition to Scotland, and invasion of England, was encouraged and supported by the States-General; that they had insulted the Commonwealth by refusing an audience to their resident Strickland, and by neglecting to punish the murderers of Dorislaus; had allowed St. John and his colleagues to be openly and shamefully insulted; had equipped 150 ships of war, while they pretended to negotiate for peace; and had themselves broken off a treaty, by abruptly recalling Pauw and other envoys from London.* Nor could there be any doubt with respect to the outrage committed by Van Tromp; for the object of a foreign admiral in entering an English roadstead, with twice the number of ships of that of the British fleet, could be no other than that of aggression.

It was the policy of the council of state and of the parliament to maintain peace with all foreign states—to secure above all things tranquillity and an effective administration of the laws throughout

* Proceedings of the Audience. Journals of Parliament.

Great Britain and Ireland—to establish religious freedom, and to promote the industry, commerce, and navigation of the country. The proposals which they made to the States-General for a complete union with the republic of the United Provinces, prove their integrity in the pursuit of this policy; and if the rejection of their overtures was justified by the Dutch, on grounds of national independence, it was the conduct of the rulers at the Hague towards Sir John Strickland, in declining an alliance of political friendship and commercial reciprocity, which led to the war that added so enormously to the taxation and public debt of Holland.

The government of the Commonwealth then considered it necessary for the dignity of their country, and the safety of the commerce of England, to declare war against the United Provinces; "and it was decided that the name of England and of Englishmen should be respected by the nations of the world."*

The council of state and the parliament, after the battle of Worcester, acted and spoke in a spirit and tone of proud independence. The Dutch ambassadors, although neither insulted nor received with discourtesy, were not treated with much political regard; while the resolute vigour and prompt decision of the English government in passing that arbitrary law—the act of navigation—and finally issuing letters of *marque* to almost every vessel that

* Burnet, in his "History of His Own Time," observes, that "Cromwell said he hoped he should make the name of an Englishman as great as ever that of a Roman had been."

could mount a cannon, produced no small astonishment in Europe. A minister had already been accredited to the Commonwealth by Christina of Sweden. The monarchical governments knew well that the Commonwealth of England was maintained only by military force, and in opposition to the great majority of the people. They were, however, under a delusion, when they believed that the rulers of the Commonwealth were consequently unable to provide or maintain a navy which could prevent that of Holland destroying the maritime force of England.

In the mean time, an English admiral, Sir George Ayscough, had reduced Barbadoes and other islands which held out for the Stuarts, and had returned triumphant to the British Channel, where his squadron was refitted and strengthened, in order to protect the English trade, and to annoy that of the Dutch. In a few days he intercepted four ships of war, and forty merchant vessels, several of whom he either captured or destroyed; and he forced most of the others to run ashore on the French coast. While Ayscough cruised in the southern parts of the Channel, Blake sailed north to intercept a great Dutch fleet of fishing vessels, which left Holland under a convoy of twelve ships of war. He captured nine of the latter, and sunk the remaining three, and, unloading all the fish from the Dutch busses, sent all the fishermen to their own country, probably in their own vessels.* Blake also captured

* Whitelock, May 29th, July 3rd, 6th, 24th, and 31st; Clarendon, pp. 461,462, 463; Journals, July 9; Heath, p. 322; Le Clerc, p. 318. It is remarkable that nothing is stated respecting the Dutch fishing

three richly-laden Dutch *East Indiamen* on their voyage homeward, and within a few hours' sail of their own ports. It appears to us unaccountable, that while Ayscough and Blake were thus triumphant, that Van Tromp should have performed no exploit at sea. It is mentioned in one instance, that he approached with a powerful fleet the ships of Ayscough in the Downs, and remained in sight for some time during a calm; but, on the wind springing up, he sailed away towards Holland, and then in search of Blake to the north, and that his fleet of a hundred ships was dispersed during a tempest.*

The disasters and losses experienced by the Dutch merchantmen and fishermen rendered Van Tromp so unpopular, that he was supplanted by De Ruyter, who immediately sailed against Ayscough. A desperate battle was fought on the 16th of August, off Plymouth, between those admirals. Our accounts of this engagement are imperfect. The English admiral is said to have commanded forty ships, and De Ruyter, who convoyed a fleet of sixty merchant vessels, is stated by the Dutch authorities to have had no more than twenty-eight ships of war, two only of which carried forty guns. The result of this battle appears to have been unsatisfactory to the government of the Commonwealth, for Ayscough was no longer employed. De Ruyter was reinforced by Admiral de Witt and forty-four ships of war; and the combined fleet of sixty-eight ships of war encountered Blake with sixty-four ships, off the

vessels, as to whether they were captured or whether given up to the fishermen, after their cargoes were despoiled by Blake.

* Whitelock, July 12th, 13th, 19th, 23rd, 27th, August 11th and 18th; Heath, 322, 323; Le Clerc, p. 321.

Kentish coast on the 28th of September, when a battle was fought, in which extraordinary bravery was displayed by the commanders and the crews of each fleet; but as far as we can depend on the contradictory accounts of the engagement, it appears that Blake did little more than sink the rear-admiral's ship, and capture the commander and crew, together with another ship of war.

The States-General, as well as the Dutch admiralty, were highly dissatisfied with De Ruyter and De Witt; while Blake acquired extraordinary renown from having, some three weeks before, attacked and captured seven large French ships of war, destined for the relief of Dunkirk, then besieged by the Spanish forces; and which place surrendered on the following day.*

The war against Holland was still continued at sea; the States-General found it necessary to restore Van Tromp to the command of their fleet, and, on the 29th of November, he surprised Admiral Blake in the Downs. The latter, although unable to bring into action more than half of his ships against a formidable fleet of from seventy to eighty vessels, under the Dutch commander, encountered Van Tromp with gallant boldness, and a battle was fought, and prolonged from mid-day until nightfall. In one instance, Blake, with his own ship, repelled several of the Dutch vessels. He was twice boarded during the action, but, nevertheless, cleared his ship of the enemy. Yet most of his ships would have

* Whitelock, August 21st and 24th, October 5th, September 7th; Le Clerc, pp. 322, 323; Ludlow, pp. 426, 427; "*Vie de Mons. Ruyter*," p. 17, *et seq.*

been captured, but for his skilful escape up the river Thames, on the evening of the same day. He, in this battle, set on fire one large Dutch ship and disabled two others; while the English lost two line-of-battle ships and three or four other vessels; besides which, nearly every vessel which took part in the engagement was more or less damaged, either in hull, mast, or rigging. Van Tromp then cruised up and down the channel, with a broom fixed at the top of the mainmast of his ship, denoting that his fleet swept the seas.*

But Cromwell had already made considerable progress as a sovereign and administrator; his star was now becoming irresistible; the prestige of his name grew formidable; and no sooner had it transpired that Van Tromp had achieved the victory, than the council of state and the parliament resolved upon extraordinary and vigorous naval exertions, with the view of punishing the insulting conduct of the Dutch admiral, and of rendering the glory of his triumph of as short a duration as possible. With incredible alacrity, the ships which had been engaged in the action off the Downs were repaired and equipped for sea; others were constructed and refitted; two regiments of infantry were distributed among the fleet as marines; the wages of the sailors were increased; and various regulations were passed in reference to the dividing of prize-money, and the providing for the families of the seamen and marines. Blake, accompanied by Monk and Admiral Deane,

* Heath, pp. 323, 326, 329, 330; Phillips, p. 615; Le Clerc, pp. 322, 324; Nanville, vol. iii., p. 68; Ludlow, 1367, vol. ii., p. 3; Whitelock, p. 545.

then sailed in quest of Van Tromp, who had proceeded towards the Isle of Rhé, to meet the homeward-bound Dutch fleet, in order to convoy it safely to Holland; from whence, by the order of his government, he had now returned to resume his command on the English coast.

On the 18th of February, 1653, Blake came in view of the Dutch fleet, consisting of an equal number of ships to his own, and convoying 300 merchant vessels along the French shore near Cape la Hogue. He immediately sailed to attack the enemy in the channel, between the Isle of Portland and the French coast. An engagement ensued, in which the Dutch lost six ships of war, and the English one. On both sides several were disabled; while Blake, in the course of the action, received a severe wound. On the following day the battle was resumed off Weymouth, where the Dutch fleet drew up in the form of a crescent, with their merchant ships in the rear; but after Blake had made some attempts to break the Dutch line, the traders were ordered by Van Tromp to retire towards the north, and to escape, if possible, during the night.

This battle was maintained all day with unfaltering bravery on both sides; and, between some of the ships, several collisions took place throughout the night. Van Tromp gradually retreated to the French coast, where, on the morning of the 20th, the combat was renewed with desperate spirit off Boulogne; but the Dutch ships drawing less water than the English, escaped over the shallows off the coasts of France and Flanders. The victory,

however, was decidedly in favour of the English, although gained with immense loss of life. The Dutch acknowledge to have lost nine of their largest ships of war, and that twenty-four of their merchant vessels were either captured or destroyed. The English authorities assert that Blake destroyed seventeen or eighteen ships of war, while he lost but one, of which, however, he had saved the crew; and that he had captured thirty merchant ships, and sunk thirty or forty more. Making due allowance for any exaggeration on the part of the victors, or of diminution in the account of the vanquished, this was certainly the most complete victory ever before gained at sea by the English navy, and it was the last naval victory gained by the Commonwealth and the Long Parliament.*

The army of England at this period was unsurpassed by any in Europe; and if its soldiers, as remarked by Burnet, "were certainly the bravest, the most disciplined, and the soberest army that had been known in these latter ages," and "every soldier was able to do the functions of an officer," so were the British seamen at this period the boldest, the best disciplined, the most skilful, and, at the same time, the most regular and sober of the maritime powers of Europe. Both in the navy and army, those men who distinguished themselves received promotion on account of merit alone, for corruption,

* Heath, p. 335; Whitelock, p. 551; Blake's Despatches; Parliamentary History, vol. xx., p. 116, *et seq.*; Several Proceedings, pp. 178, 179; Leyster's Journal, p. 138; Basnage, vol. i., pp. 298—301; Le Clerc, vol. i., pp. 328, 329. The last-named authority gives the smallest number lost by the Dutch, viz.,—"Four ships of war taken, and five sunk, and twenty-four merchant ships retaken." But he adds,—"*Les Anglois exaggeroient leur avantage; les Hollandois diminuoient leur perte.*"

bribery, and patronage were unknown. Each soldier and sailor felt proud that he was a citizen of a free state,—and one of those who promoted and defended the safety, honour, and dignity of the British Empire. No caprice,—no favour of the saloons of a court,—no accident of birth,—no influence in Church or State, led any one to hope that he should be promoted over those who had higher meritorious claims.

The seamen of England were, like the soldiers, inspired both by a fervent religious enthusiasm and an ardent love of liberty. The maxim of Admiral Blake was, "Let us fight for our country and our liberties, whatever may be the form of the English government." And under him both officers and men fought with lofty and honest ideas of freedom, religion, and independence. They, also, were "seekers of the Lord," to whose power alone did they attribute their successes, believing themselves to be His chosen vessels; who, in battle, as well as in all their movements, were equally under His auspices and protection. And thus they feared not any human power by whom they might be assailed. Such men were unconquerable; and although in some instances unsuccessful, yet in the end they were always victorious. In any case of discomfiture, they ascribed their loss to the Divine displeasure—their want of faith, or other shortcomings, in serving the Lord. The sailors were also animated by the presence of the soldiers; who, when required, readily joined, and fought on board the ships of war; for at this period there existed not the distinction between sailor and soldier which came afterwards to

be established. Monk, Blake, and Deane commanded, and fought battles on land as well as upon sea.

Never before did a nation, hated by all Europe, exhibit a power so successful, under circumstances less favourable. After making full allowance for any or all of their share of the infirmities of human nature, Cromwell, Vane, Algernon Sidney, St. John, Blake, Whitelock, Ireton, Haselrig, Martin, Bradshaw, and the other great leaders, — in the parliament,—in the council of state,—and in the army and navy, have yet much justice due to their memories from all those who appreciate the History of the British Empire, and who enjoy the blessings of civil, political, and religious freedom, and protection under the British Constitution.

CHAPTER XIII.

OLIVER CROMWELL AND THE LONG PARLIAMENT—ACT OF OBLIVION—NEW COUNCIL OF STATE—PLANS OF GOVERNMENT—ALGERNON SIDNEY—WHITELOCK—THE LAWYERS—KING OR NO KING—SIR ROBERT FILMER'S MONARCHY—LILBURNE AGAIN—THE PRESS PROSECUTIONS—THE ARMY—"THE RUMP" VIOLENTLY DISSOLVED BY CROMWELL.

AFTER the battle of Worcester, and the death of Ireton, Cromwell appears to have resolved upon those measures which led, perhaps unintentionally on his part at the time, to his acquiring sovereign power. His sagacity and judgment led him to conclude that there were not the elements of stability in the government of the Commonwealth as it was now constituted. When the three kingdoms had been thoroughly brought under the government of the Commonwealth, and when tranquillity was completely established, and obedience to the laws strictly enforced, the parliament, on the 24th day of February, 1651, passed an Act of General Pardon and Amnesty; a policy which Ludlow and others attributed to the ambitious views of Cromwell, who now sought to render himself popular, and to moderate the enmity of the Presbyterians and Royalists.* Ludlow also accuses Cromwell of

* Ludlow says: "The parliament were prevailed with by the importunities of some of their own members, and in particular of General

beginning after the battle of Worcester "to despise divers members of the house whom he had formerly courted and grew most familiar with, whom he used badly, and with most aversion in endeavouring to oblige the royal party by procuring for them more favourable conditions than consisted with the justice of the parliament to grant. Under the colour of quieting the spirits of many people, and keeping them from engaging in new disturbances, to risk them out of those fears, which men, who had acted for the occasion, yet lay under, though at the same time designed nothing, as by the success was most manifest, but to advance himself by all manner of means, and betray the great trust which parliament and the good people of England imposed in him. To this end he passed the Act of Oblivion."*

Whatever may have been the motives of Cromwell in passing the Act of Oblivion, it was certainly a wise and an expedient measure. He was naturally humane and benevolent; and it is both unjust and ungenerous to accuse him of mere selfishness in urging the passing of this merciful amnesty. Indeed, the unprejudiced judgment of succeeding generations has unhesitatingly allowed that, on this occasion, Cromwell acted from the dictates of a humane heart and magnanimous spirit.

Cromwell, that so he might fortify himself by the addition of new friends for carrying on his designs to pass an act of general pardon and amnesty, whereby, though it had thirty-eight several exceptions of many persons who deserved to pay towards the reimbursement of the public, no less than those already fined, escaped the punishment due to their misdemeanors; and the Commonwealth was defrauded of great sums of money, by which means they were rendered unable to discharge many just debts, owing to them who had served them with diligence and fidelity."—Ludlow, vol. i., p. 402.

* Ludlow, vol. ii., p. 448.

On the 1st of December, 1651, a new council was installed, to which fifteen of those who sat in the three preceding councils were re-elected, together with ten of those who had not previously sat in any of the councils, and fourteen who were members of one or two of the former councils.

Cromwell, on hearing of the death of Ireton,—the man to whom he alone observed a deference and esteem, which controlled his ambitious visions,—immediately summoned a meeting of influential members of the parliament, and of the leading officers of the army, who assembled at the house of the Speaker. It may be questioned whether Cromwell ever was a sincere Republican, or that he considered the Commonwealth government the best adapted to the sentiments and institutions of England. He no doubt believed that the excellence of any system of government depended on its adaptation to the traditions, religion, ideas, and character of the people; and he was now conscious that the Commonwealth was not approved of by more than one-fifth of the inhabitants of England and Scotland, and probably by no class of the Irish nation.

At the council which met at the Speaker's house, it was submitted by Whitelock, that "it now became necessary to decide upon the plan of the government, and whether it should be instituted in the form of a perfect democracy, or as a republican institution, with a monarchical executive." The judges, and other lawyers, were in favour of a mixed monarchy; but Cromwell, who immediately followed Whitelock, said, "The lord commissioner had suggested the true course; and if the meeting

approve of a mixed monarchy, the next question is, on whom that dignity should be conferred?" Widdrington, and other lawyers, proposed that the crown should be conferred on the Duke of Gloucester, the third son of Charles I.; but the chief officers of the army, including Desborough, Fleetwood, and Whalley, contended for a democratic republic. Cromwell then remained silent; and if he was not satisfied, he at least learned the opinions of most of those who attended the meeting, and who represented the leading parties in the council, the parliament, and the army.*

On the 9th of January, 1650, Sir Harry Vane, Algernon Sidney, Ireton, Scott, and four other members who constituted a committee, reported that a change was necessary in the form of government; that the people of England should be represented in a parliament of 400 members; and that a new electoral distribution, proportionate in some degree to the population, should be made with respect to the counties and boroughs. The representation by 400 members was at once agreed to by the "Rump" Parliament, but the apportionment of distribution was deferred. From the Journals of the Commons for 1650, and the following year, it appears that the subject of parliamentary reform was frequently discussed in the house; but of the forty-eight sittings on that question, many were merely *pro formâ*.

Cromwell was always convinced that the "Rump" was odious to the nation, and that a free and full parliament was the popular desire of the kingdom. When on his journey to London, after the battle of

* Whitelock, December 10th.

Worcester, his chaplain, Hugh Peters, remarking his carriage and the honours that were shown him, observed confidently to a friend, "The lord-general will make himself our king."* Cromwell, on that occasion, probably meditated deeply on the condition of England, and on the sentiments, prejudices, and predilections of the people. He no doubt believed that the English, "like Israel of old," *would* have a king; but never did he err so much in sagacity and judgment as when he entertained the ambitious design of becoming that king. Not but that he was as able, if not more so, than any man in Europe to wield a sceptre and sit on a throne; but there was not a general officer in the army who would honestly support him in wearing a crown. Vane, Algernon Sidney, Bradshaw, Desborough, Lambert, and Fleetwood, were sturdy republicans. Algernon Sidney, indeed, had long before written, although he had not published his maxims, with regard to kingly authority; and argued that "No privilege is peculiarly annexed to any office of government; but that all magistrates are equally ministers of God, who perform the work for which they are instituted, and that the people which institutes them may proportion, regulate, and terminate their power as to time, measure, and number of persons, as seems most convenient to themselves, which can be no other than their own good."† When the Royalist, Sir Robert Filmer,

* Ludlow, p. 447.

† Discourses Concerning Government, chap. i., sec. xix., p. 48. In his Dissertation on Sir R. Filmer's absurd and irrational work, the "*Patriarcha*," Algernon Sidney lays down as a text for three sections, that "Implicit faith belongs to fools; and that truth is comprehended by examining principles."

cited *Bellarmine*, whom he seems not to have been able to comprehend, and asserted that, "If, by the law of God the power be immediately in the people, God is the author of the democracy." Sidney remarked, "And why not as well as of a tyranny? *Bellarmine* does not say that democracy is the ordinance of God more than any other form of government; nor that the people have no power to make use of their right, but that they do; that is to say, ordinarily, transmit the exercise of it to one or more. We say in general, he that institutes may also abrogate—'*Cujus est instituere ejus est abrogare.*' If the multitude, therefore, do institute, the multitude may abrogate; they themselves, or those who succeed in the same right, can only be fit judges of the performances of the ends of the institutions. There can be no peace where there is no justice; it is not justice, if a government instituted for the good of the nation, be turned to its ruin."* These maxims of Algernon Sidney were also those of the army; and, in their Scriptural allusions, they maintained that Abraham and the Patriarchs were not kings.

But Cromwell's views were gradually becoming more ambitious and bold. The great military renown which he now acquired,—his numerous victories and prosperous fortune,—his sagacity,—his appreciation of the administrative abilities or defects of other men,—his confidence in his own powers of mind and of administration, naturally led him to aim at possessing and exercising the supreme authority of the state. He clearly saw that a new power was necessary for the purpose of reconciling and governing

* Discourse on Government, pp. 11, 12; second edition, folio, 1704.

the Presbyterians, Royalists, or other sects of the people of Great Britain and Ireland. He concluded, that the most efficient principle or power was a kingly government, to which the people looked up, in every country, with more or less admiration, submission, and even with some degree of terror. He believed that, as monarchy usually dazzled, attracted, and pleased mankind, that the splendour of the court, and the insignia of royalty, were agreeable to the British people; that they would ever be jealous of a ruler who did not rank higher than one of themselves; and that a democratic form of government would never be respected or allowed to exist long in these kingdoms. By a monarchical form of government, he hoped to reconcile the Presbyterians and Royalists, who demanded a king. "And," said he, in a private conversation with Whitelock, "what if a man should make himself a king?" Of course, meaning himself.*

St. John, Maynard, Glynn, and other lawyers, contended that no new government in England could be legally instituted until a monarchy was established; while the Republicans, on the other hand, asserted that a king was the Antichrist of the Revelation, who opposed on earth the authority of Jesus Christ.† But Cromwell, however ambitious, feared the army and the Republicans far more than he dreaded the Royalists, Presbyterians, and Roman Catholics; besides which, the stubborn "Rump" of the Long Parliament still stood in his way, and regarded him merely in the light of their servant.

* Whitelock.

† Burnet, vol. i., pp. 82 and 83.

They no doubt feared him; for *de facto* he was their master.

On the 25th of May, 1651, the house voted that a bill should be brought in for fixing a certain time for dissolving the parliament, and for assembling a new House of Commons. Cromwell, Sir Harry Vane, St. John, Martin, Whitelock, Lisle, Say, and several other leading members, were entrusted with the preparation of the bill;* and on the 18th of November it was voted, without a division, that parliament should terminate on the 3rd of November, 1654. Cromwell remained inactive for a short period after this vote had been passed. But by it he obtained the important acknowledgment from the parliament itself, that its sittings were not to be permanent, and that its dissolution would take place on a fixed day.

An incident had occurred some time before which brought John Lilburne again before the public. His acquittal had rendered him so popular in the city of London, that at the next annual election he was chosen a common councilman. But in a few days afterwards the "Rump" Parliament indiscreetly declared his election void.† On being called upon by the aldermen of his ward to swear to the "engagement, to be true and faithful to the Commonwealth, as established without king or House of Lords," he wrote an explanatory pamphlet,‡ in which he stated, that by the Commonwealth he meant the constitution of England, and that by ab-

* Journals of the House.
† Journals of the House, December 26th, 1650.
‡ Reasons for not taking the engagement.

juring the king he manifested his utter abhorrence of an arbitrary and absolute monarch. "By threatening assassination," he says, "he obtained 800*l.* in part of the money due to him for his suffering by the sentence of the Court of Star Chamber;" while Cromwell and Henry Martin managed to pass an act of parliament to pay the balance of the grant, at ten years' purchase, from the dean and chapter lands.* In August, 1651, he published a scurrilous tract, directed chiefly against Sir Arthur Haselrig, of which, however, no notice was taken; but some time afterwards he presented a scandalous petition, full of charges against Haselrig, who stood high among the Republicans as a leading Independent. After a full investigation of all those charges by a committee of fifty members, which included Whitelock, Sir Harry Vane, Algernon Sidney, and Martin, all the charges against Haselrig and the house were negatived; and on the 15th January, 1652, Lilburne was fined 3,000*l.*, of which 2,000*l.* was decreed as damages to Haselrig, and 500*l.* each to other four members whom he had calumniated; while Lilburne himself was ordered to be banished for life.† His associate, one Primate, was fined in a like amount. These punishments were arbitrary, and the House of Commons at the same time exceeded the limits of the constitution in assuming the function of a jury. Its jurisdiction was even more arbitrary than that of the high court of justice.‡

* Journals, June 27th, July 16th, 23rd, 30th.

† Journals, January 15th and 20th.

‡ In consequence of an insurrection which had suddenly broken out in Norfolk in December 1650, a high court of justice was instituted at Norwich to try the leaders. Of twenty-four prisoners who were

But the Long Parliament was itself an unconstitutional assembly, and its "Rump" still more so; for by Fairfax's agreement with the people, it was declared that the power of the parliament—that is, of the representatives of the Commons of England, extended to erecting and abolishing courts of justice and public offices; to enacting, altering, and repealing laws, and to the exercise of the highest and final judgment concerning natural or civil things; but not concerning things spiritual and evangelical. By this instrument, therefore, the Commons were entrusted with the power of the abolished House of Peers; and the Lord Chief Justice declared, that "whatever authority was in the House of Lords and Commons, the same was united in this parliament."* But the true ground of the parliament trying Lilburne was, that they could not trust the charges against him to a jury; nor was his offence such as could be tried by the court of high commission, which was instituted for the trial of capital crimes. One charge against this turbulent man was, that of a fraudulent conspiracy to retain possession of an estate in Durham, from which his uncle had been ejected some time before. With respect to his trial, and that of three other persons who were condemned to the pillory, Whitelock observes, "The

condemned, twenty were executed and four pardoned. The clergy of London and their adherents having engaged in cabals against the Commonwealth, several of them were taken into custody on the 7th of May, 1651. One of their number, named Christopher Love, was arraigned, and, after a trial of six days, was sentenced to be beheaded. His counsel was the celebrated Mathew Hale. Love was a minister of great repute among the Presbyterians. Great interest was made for a respite, but he was beheaded on Tower Hill on the 22nd of August.

* Parliamentary Diary, vol. i., p. 30.

house took upon them, and exercised all manner of jurisdiction, and sentenced persons to destruction, which was disliked by many lawyers of the house, of which I was one; and who showed them the illegality and breach of liberty in this arbitrary proceeding." The house also, on a charge of bribery, expelled from his seat in parliament, Lord Howard, of Escrick, whom they at the same time fined in a penalty of 10,000*l.*; but this fine was afterwards remitted; and this Lord Howard's conduct afterwards will appear infamous.*

Although the censorship of the press and the licensing of publications were abolished by the parliament, yet books in many instances were seized after their publication by the government authorities; the *Ikon Basilicon*, and the translation of the Koran, being among the first works suppressed. Marchmont Nedham, the editor of the *Mercurius Britannicus*, and afterwards of the *Mercurius Pragmaticus*, was arrested and committed to Newgate. The first publication advocated the cause of the parliament and of liberty, and was continued weekly for the three years, ending 1646.† But the second, which was commenced after an interview which the editor had with Charles I., at Hampton Court, consisted chiefly of scurrilous and violent attacks upon the Commonwealth. Nedham does not appear to have had the spirit of a martyr, nor the honesty of a virtuous man; for a short time subsequently, after having communicated with Lenthal, the Speaker, he published a tract, entitled "The Cause of the Com-

* See Journals; Various Proceedings; Whitelock.
† Athen. Oxon., vol. ii., pp. 626, 627.

monwealth, with a Discourse of the Excellency of a Free State above a Kingly Government." This tract, which appeared in May, 1650, was followed up by the *Mercurius Politicus*, a weekly newspaper, which supported the existing government.* Clement Walker, author of "The History of Independency," was imprisoned for nearly two years, until he died in the Tower. An act of parliament was passed, directing "imprisonment and fine to be inflicted on any printer, publisher, vendor, or purchaser of a scandalous or libellous pamphlet or book." It prohibited all printing in any place except London, Oxford, York, and Cambridge; required from all printers security to the amount of 300*l.*; the name of the printer to be attached to each book or paper; that all newspapers or periodicals should not be published without a license; and that all persons were authorised to search for and confiscate scandalous books, and to destroy the presses by which they were printed.

Several individuals were tried on being discovered in correspondence with the Royalists, either abroad or at home. A Dr. Lewin, who was found to have blank royal commissions in his pocket, suffered the penalties of treason. Sir John Gell, Colonel Eusebius Andrews, and Captain Benson, were tried on a charge of conspiring to overturn the government of the Commonwealth; and although they denied the legality of the court, as being little else

* Those periodicals were written in a quaint style of language. The *Mercurius* had for its motto, or rather its first sentence, "Why should not the Commonwealth have a fool as well as the king had?" Afterwards, Nedham seems to have pursued a consistent course, even after the restoration of Charles II.

than a *court-martial*, and pleaded *Magna Charta* and the Petition of Rights, the two last were executed, and Gell was sentenced to imprisonment for life, with the confiscation of his property.* Twenty of those who had risen in Norfolk, in December, in favour of Charles, were also put to death. A leading Presbyterian minister named Love was executed, and a London citizen named Gibbons beheaded on Tower Hill in the previous year.† Events of great consequence accompanied and followed these severe and arbitrary proceedings.

In the month of December, six days after the battle of Worcester, "The Statesmen," as they were called, "of the parliament" resolved that the number of forces, which had never been so great before in England, should be reduced, and that the taxes should be diminished in proportion. On the 7th of October a motion was carried to disband one-fourth of the army, and to reduce the assessments from 120,000*l.* to 90,000*l.* a month. The garrisons were also reduced, and the army establishment placed on a standard of about 25,000 men. Those acts were chiefly levelled at Cromwell, who prudently made no remonstrance, but concurred in each measure.

On the 27th of January, 1652, a petition from the army was presented by six officers, at the bar of

* Whitelock, p. 464 to 474; Carte, vol. i., pp. 443, 464, 472; Heath, pp. 269, 270. These arbitrary proceedings occurred in July, August, and October, 1651.

† Athenæ Oxon., vol. ii., p. 146; Journals, February to March and June; Order Book from March to June 23; Mitton's State Papers, p. 50 to 76; Harris; Whitelock, p. 492 to 500; Heath, pp. 288-290; Kennet, p. 185. Cromwell is said to have ordered the lives of Clement Walker and Love to be spared.

the house, praying for improvements, but, in reality, charging the parliament with incompetence, or a wilful dereliction of duty. It was, in fact, a remonstrance, calling upon the house to promote the spread of the Gospel; to reform the law, and remove from office all disaffected and scandalous persons; to abolish the grievances of the excise, and correct the abuses of the treasury; to pay the arrears due to the army, and to remedy the violation of stipulations made with the enemy; and, finally, to direct and to adjust the qualifications of immediate and future governments. The assemblage of armed bodies to petition the parliament was considered dangerous by Whitelock, who remonstrated with Cromwell on the subject. But the latter paid no regard to the advice. The sum of 150,000*l.* was ordered to be appropriated to discharge the arrears due to the army in Scotland; while Cromwell managed to have his own regiment of foot, and that of Ingoldsby, augmented in three months to 1200 men each, and in the same year to 1600 men each. He justified the expedient on the ground of the war with Holland; but on its being again proposed to take into consideration the further reduction of the garrisons and forces in England and Scotland, Cromwell addressed a letter to the Speaker, from which it would appear that he was opposed to the principle of retrenchment, on an extensive scale; and in consequence of which the proposition was abandoned.

Great Britain and Ireland was now under the authority of two distinct powers—the parliament and the army. The first was an oligarchy, which

had usurped power without the consent of the people, and retained its authority only by the sufferance of the army; and no sooner was the reduction of the latter again revived, than Cromwell, who had so powerfully established his authority and his influence with this great military power, at once threw off all disguise with regard to the council of state and the parliament.

At no former period was the power of England more formidable. The naval war against the Dutch had been remarkably successful; which success, however, was in no small degree attributable to Sir Harry Vane, who, as a civilian, was as able an administrator as Cromwell. The orders of the council of state and of the parliament were executed with facility; while throughout Great Britain and Ireland the laws were enforced, and implicitly obeyed. But there was not yet a chief magistrate,—no legislative or judicial peerage,—nor were the people represented in parliament. Of the illustrious individuals who had been elected twelve years before, 100, or 150 at most, sat as usurpers of power at Westminster. This assemblage constituted the "Rump" of a legislature, which had been reduced by forced purging, proscription, and by voluntary desertion. But it now became evident that this unconstitutional parliament would no longer be supported by the army. If the majority of the men who composed this oligarchy were distinguished for their efforts,—for their honesty,—and for their economy in managing the national finances, they might have continued to inspire respect while their power was enfeebled. That there were honest men,

like Sir Harry Vane, Bradshaw, and Algernon Sidney among their number, is, without doubt, as true as that the majority had become a sordid and corrupt body of persons, who resolved never to give up their power and monopoly as long as they could wield it with advantage to their own personal interests, or to the advancement and profit of their families and relations. But if the days of the "Rump" were now about to be extinguished, another authority became consolidated, which formed the real power of the empire.

The constitution of the army and power of Great Britain and Ireland at this period, was certainly remarkable. It had no parallel in the history of any nation. True, it was a standing army, but, unlike any other standing army, it was not a mere instrument of corruption, immorality, and despotism. Although obedient to the lord-general, to the commander-in-chief, and other generals and officers; and although the soldiers had committed acts of extraordinary severity, under the influence of religious fanaticism, in Ireland, and under Monk in Scotland; yet, in morality, the character of the army was untarnished, and its regularity of conduct stood high and free from those vices which commonly, on the continent, then degraded human nature, and especially the embodied soldiery of Europe in that age. Notwithstanding qualities which would not now be considered interesting, agreeable, or amiable, the soldiers of the Commonwealth were distinguished for courage, religion, sobriety, morality, patriotism, and endurance. Their religion elevated them above the thoughts of slavish avarice or sensual indulgence.

They had fought, and bled, and suffered privations from cold, hunger, long marches, and uncomfortable shelter, in the cause of civil and political liberty, and of moral and religious freedom.

It was to those men, and not to the parliament, that Cromwell addressed his views and opinions. By them he was respected, and at all times favourably listened to. He is described by many historians as destitute of eloquence, and of the power of expressing his feelings with warmth and effect. But, nevertheless, he was endowed with a power which proved as irresistible in addressing the army as the eloquence of Demosthenes in his philippics to the Athenians. He spoke to his officers and his soldiers, from the generals down to the meanest sentinel, of the pure and disinterested spirit which animated them during their laborious marches and victories,—of the virtue, religion, and integrity of heart and head by which they were distinguished, —and he compared their virtuous self-denial with the corruption and profligacy of "The Statesmen," who availed themselves of their services. He urged each man to answer for himself, and to search his heart for the purity and godliness of his patriotism, while he reflected on the selfishness of "The Statesmen," who were determined never to resign their authority so long as they could prey on the wealth produced by industrious labour.

At this period the sentiments of the army were different from those which, in 1647, led them to assemble in illegal meetings, and to elect agitators. At that time mutiny was contagious, and each soldier was ready to arm for the redress of his own

grievances. The present temperate state of feeling was chiefly brought about by the sagacity and address of Cromwell. The army was now moulded into a state of perfect obedience and discipline, and each private soldier reposed an unreserved confidence in the sincerity and patriotism of his commander, or superior officer. The victories and conquests in Ireland and in Scotland,—the battles of Dunbar and Worcester,—raised Cromwell higher in the estimation of the soldiers than any other man.

But, notwithstanding, his position was one of great difficulty. He was convinced that a new and efficient government must be constituted with a chief magistrate. If he then designed to assume the sovereign authority, he no doubt concluded that sovereign power was necessary for the security and prosperity of Great Britain and Ireland.

Cromwell had sounded several members of parliament before this time. He knew the Republican principles of Sir Harry Vane, and he condemned them as impracticable for England. But he revealed his views slowly, and, although the parliament were jealous of his power, they never suspected his designs, and chiefly because he appeared more liberally disposed than the majority of their own number. Vane and St. John had not approved of the trial and execution of the king; and yet they, with Bradshaw and Martin, contributed more than any other two men to maintain the power of the Commonwealth government. In order to accomplish his designs, it was necessary that Cromwell should, in the first instance, persuade the army that these

statesmen were corrupt and dishonest, while he made protestations of his own purity and self-denying spirit, and displayed a fervent zeal, apparent frankness, and the utter absence of affectation. He complained that he endured exquisite pain at the idea of those statesmen being guided only by personal ambition and unworthy motives; at the same time he declared that, for his own part, he "sought the Lord night and day; that He would rather slay him than put him upon this work," meaning the dissolving of the "Rump."

With respect to the government of the Commonwealth, and the executive administration being vested in one person, nearly all the officers of the army were opposed to the change, both from sentiments of religion, as well as principles of democracy.

On the 12th day of August, 1652, the day on which the question of reducing the army was debated, a council of officers was held at Whitehall; and a petition was agreed to, which was presented on the following day to the parliament. This instrument, though secretly prepared, was supposed to have been contrived by Cromwell. It commenced by remarking, that those by whom it was drawn up, and whose signatures were attached, had divers meetings to seek the Lord, and to speak of the great things God had done for the Commonwealth; and, having felt it as a duty in their hearts to offer their country suggestions which, in their judgment and conscience, might lead to its prosperity and peace, they, with one consent, humbly requested the house to take into its serious consideration,—

1st. A speedy and effectual means for the pro-

pagation of the Gospel; the ejection of profane, scandalous, and ignorant ministers; the encouragement of men approved for godliness and gifts, and to provide for their maintenance; but, at the same time, to take away the unequal and unconscientious burden of tithes.

2ndly. A reform in the regulations for the administration of the law, in all respects where these were needlessly vexatious or burdensome to the people.

3rdly. The adoption of a speedy and effectual course by act of parliament, or otherwise, to remove all profane, scandalous, or disaffected persons from places of authority and public trust, and to fill those places with men of blameless lives and good public affection; as all good men desired that the magistrates, and such as have public trust, should be men of truth, fearing God, and hating covetousness.

4thly. That a committee should be appointed in each country, to remove the grievances of the excise.

5thly. That satisfaction should be made to all who had lent on the public faith, or who suffered from good and constant affection for the public cause; first of all to the poorer creditors,—and this before any allowance out of the revenue should be given to particular persons.

The 6th and 7th articles recommended that strict faith should be observed with regard to the stipulations with the enemy; and urged that the arrears due to the soldiers should be paid.

8thly. That the whole produce of the taxation should be paid direct into one treasury; and that

accounts of the revenue and expenditure should be published in detail each year or half year.

9thly. That the grievances resulting from monopolies, unnecessary places, and extravagant salaries, should be referred to a committee of parliament.

10thly. That a thorough suppression of common beggars and vagabonds should be considered, and that labour should be provided for all those who were able to work, and provision made for all those who, through age or disability, were unable to labour; and,

Lastly. That for the satisfaction of the people, speedy provision should be made for the qualification of future and successive parliaments, in order that none should be elected, except those who were pious and faithful to the interests of the Commonwealth.

This petition was referred to a committee, consisting of Cromwell, Whitelock, Lisle, Pembroke, Martin, Scott, Harrison, Ingoldsby, and twenty-five other members; and, although Whitelock and others considered the petition as an arrogant presumption on the part of the officers, yet the Speaker, by the directions of the house, thanked the petitioners for their "good affections," and for their "care of the public," expressed in the petition.

It was some time after this event that Cromwell had the celebrated conversation with Whitelock, as related by the latter, on the evening of the 7th of November, in St. James's Park. On this occasion, Cromwell dwelt upon the critical state of the government and of public affairs,—the discontents of the army with the parliament,—the incompetent character, pride, ambition,—and self-seeking of the

members of that assembly; and then, after hearing certain opinions which accorded with his own from Whitelock, and some objections, he threw off his reserve, and started the question by abruptly asking, "What if a man should take upon him to be king?" Whitelock did not concur in the suggestion; and, instead of advising Cromwell to take upon him the title of king, he recommended him, by a private treaty with Charles II., to re-establish the hereditary monarchy under such covenants and restrictions as would secure the spiritual and civil liberties of the people; while the lord-general might still retain the command of the army and militia. This advice was not agreeable to Cromwell, who terminated the conversation by observing, that it was a matter of much importance and difficulty, and required great and serious consideration; and Whitelock observes, that "from this time he had forfeited the confidence of the Lord General."*

It appears somewhat remarkable that, until this time, Cromwell did not consider it necessary or politic to remove the youngest son of Charles I., the Duke of Gloucester, from England to the continent; but at the end of this year, the young Prince, with his tutor, were sent from Carisbrook Castle to France, with money sufficient to pay their expenses, and a promise that he should be allowed an annual pension if he did not join Charles II. or his family. The motive of Cromwell was no doubt political in removing this prince, who was now thirteen years of age, from England, as it had been the declared

* See Whitelock's Diary, 1652-53. , See the whole conversation in the Appendix to this volume.

opinion of Whitelock and Widdrington, that as he had taken no part in the war, he should have the precedence of his two elder brothers in the event of the monarchy being restored.

In the parliament of December, 1652, a new council was installed, consisting of fifteen members, who had sat in the four preceding councils, three new members, Richard Ingoldsby, Algernon Sidney, Richard Morton, and twenty-three members of one or other of the last three councils. The estimates were brought forward by Sir Harry Vane, on the 4th December, when 30,000*l.* a month was allowed for the maintenance of the army, and 40,000*l.* for the navy.* A resolution was also passed to sell the parks of Windsor, with the castle, Hampton Court, Hyde Park, Enfield Chase, and the royal park at Greenwich. The bill was passed into law on the 8th of January, 1653; while another bill was brought in for the sale of certain cathedrals.† The sale of Hampton Court was an invidious personal attack on Cromwell. It was further proposed to reduce the army, and an arrangement for that purpose was voted by the house. But matters made slow progress in parliament.

Cromwell, in the mean time, was actively engaged in creating distrust and hatred in the army against the "Rump;" and he managed that the officers and some leading members of the parliament should assemble together, in order to decide upon the most speedy mode of dissolving the "Rump:" proposing that, until a new and full parliament was elected, the executive government should be *ad interim*

* Journals. † *Ibid.*

entrusted to a council of about forty persons, chosen from among the officers of the army, and certain members of the present parliament. His plan was probably to assume the title and the functions of a king, with a free and full parliament, representing, truly and equally, the people of England.

The conduct of the parliament towards the army afforded Cromwell and the soldiers great room for complaint; and they declared that "the statesmen" had no object but private interest, no morality, but ambition. There was little difficulty in persuading the soldiers, that they were merely used as instruments by the parliament, to enable its members, without either danger, labour, or hardship, to enjoy power and wealth; and Cromwell, who took advantage of this *opinion*, declared, that "those lazy men, those unclean birds, pushed as they were to fortune's top, distributed among themselves the emoluments and good things of the state, regardless of the privations and misfortunes of more godly and meritorious persons." Sir Harry Vane was represented as an obscure visionary, whose religious speculations no one comprehended; and, notwithstanding his pretensions of holiness and patriotism, and his official labours, that he had no feelings of charity or mercy for the sufferings of those who, engaged, not as self-seekers, but with their whole heart and soul, in the good old cause. The loose morals of some members were attacked, and the dishonesty of others artfully represented; while Cromwell, on his part, assured the army that he aimed only at a pure commonwealth, that he wished for a free and full parlia-

ment, and the dissolution of the assembly which had sat in permanence at Westminster.*

The officers of the army, who were mostly enthusiasts, did not doubt his sincerity ; he probably fancied himself sincere, and frequent conferences were held between the officers and a few leading members of the "Rump." Among others, St. John gave his assent to the project of Cromwell for dissolving the parliament by open force, if he could not obtain an immediate dissolution by their own votes. Whitelock, Widdrington, and others, however, declared that a dissolution would be followed by great danger, and that the construction of the proposed council would be illegal and unwarrantable.

The act which had been agreed to by parliament for extending its duration to November, 1654, and for retaining, without re-election, in the new parliament, the seats of the members now sitting—and, further, for making them judges of the legality and fitness of the new members—was represented as an instrument for perpetuating the Rump Parliament, and reinvigorating that assembly by new members favourable to Sir Harry Vane and the lawyers. Nor, would it have suited Cromwell to have Sir Harry Vane, Bradshaw, or Martin, who were sturdy and honest republicans, invested with legislative authority. The future parliament, according to this act, was to consist of 400 members, with the addition of 60 for Scotland and Ireland, and consequently would greatly outnumber the present, which now only included from 53 to 90

* Several Proceedings.

members *sitting* at the most. It would also, in all probability, restore a Church government under the Presbyterian form, and recal and enthrone Charles II.; as the power of Oliver Cromwell, the position of the Independents, and the honest, though in many respects mistaken, zeal and piety of the army, would have lost their weight in a parliament, four-fifths of which would have been freely elected. Oliver St. John urged that the present parliament should be at once terminated; and contended that the affairs of the country could never be satisfactorily established while it continued in power.*

A conference took place at the Lord General's residence on the 19th of April, 1653. It arrived at no conclusion, further than that the meeting should be resumed in the afternoon of the ensuing day; and that nothing new was to be attempted in the mean time by the parliament.† On the following day the bill was resumed by the parliament. During the discussion on the previous morning, a clause was introduced to admit *neuters* as members; which was objected to by the officers of the army, as a trick to strengthen the Presbyterian interest; while Cromwell declared in the house, "Never shall any of that judgment who have deserted the good cause, be admitted to power;" and, in the conference afterwards, several officers insisted that the parliament must be dissolved, one way or another. The Lord General, however, calmed down this declaration.

On the morning of the 20th, another conference was held at his apartments in Whitehall, and at

* Whitelock, April 20; Parliamentary History, vol. xx., pp. 130-159.

† Parliamentary History, pp. 130-165.

the same time the house was about to vote the bill of dissolution, containing all the obnoxious provisions; but the debate was protracted by Colonel Harrison, who "*most sweetly and humbly*" conjured them not to decide so important a question in haste, as the decision might give deep offence to Cromwell and the council of officers.* Colonel Ingoldsby immediately repaired to Whitehall, and informed Cromwell, "that if he meant to act with decision, there was not a moment to lose." †

Cromwell instantly started up, and, accompanied by several officers and members of parliament, proceeded to Westminster. Strange must have been the workings of his mind at this time; but his countenance was, nevertheless, impenetrable. He directed the military to remain in the lobby; and dressed in a plain suit of black, with grey worsted stockings, he entered the house and sat down upon one of the outer benches, where for some time he continued listening to the debate. Lambert, Harrison, and several officers of the army were in attendance; and when the Speaker was about to put the question to the house, he beckoned Harrison from the other side, and, whispering to him, said, "Now is the time—I must do it."

He then took off his hat, rose, and addressed the house. He commenced with a serious air, and in some respects complimentary language; but, gradually becoming animated, he spoke first with warmth, and then with vehemence and passion,

* Parliamentary History, p. 130; Whitelock, Narrative of the Meeting, 554; Milton's State Papers, 109; Haselrig's Speech; Burton's Diary, vol. iii., 98.

† Whitelock; Perfect Politician, p. 168.

charged all the members with "gross partiality,—self-seeking and profaneness,—denials of justice,—grasping at power and riches,—neglecting the men who had bled for them in the field, in order to gain the Presbyterians, who had apostatised from the good old cause; with idolising those consistent advocates of tyranny—the lawyers; and all with the selfish purpose of perpetuating their own power, and filling their own purses. But the Lord had disowned them—their time was come—and the Lord had chosen more worthy instruments to do his work."

Sir Peter Wentworth then rose to order, and declared that "he never before heard language so unparliamentary, and more offensive still, because by their own servant, whom they had fondly brought up, and who by their great bounty was made what he was."

Before he proceeded any further, Cromwell started up in his place, with his hat on, and said, "Come, sir, come, I will put an end to your prating." He then for a few seconds walked forwards and backwards on the floor; and, stamping with his foot, he continued, "You are no parliament—I say you are no parliament! Bring them in!—bring them in!" Colonel Worsley immediately entered, followed by more than twenty musketeers.

"This," said Sir Harry Vane, "is not honest—it is against morality and common honesty."

"Sir Harry Vane," replied the Lord General. "Oh, Sir Harry Vane! The Lord deliver me from Sir Harry Vane! He might have prevented

this, but he is a juggler, and hath not common honesty himself." He then attacked Whitelock with severity. He pointed to Wentworth and Martin, exclaiming, "There are two whoremasters!" To Challoner: "There sits a drunkard!" To Alderman Allen, as having "defrauded the public while treasurer of the army of some hundred thousand pounds;" and he charged many others in succession with being corrupt and dishonest, lovers of scandal, and a shame to the Gospel.

Harrison was now ordered to remove the Speaker from the chair. Lenthall, however, who was a strong man, said he would not be removed except by force; upon which Harrison led him down from the chair. Cromwell then, looking sternly at the mace, said: "What shall we do with this fool's bauble? Take it away!" Algernon Sidney, who still remained in his seat on the right hand of the Speaker's, was ejected from it, and taken away by Colonel Worsley. As the members were leaving the house, Cromwell exclaimed: "It is you that forced me to do this. I have sought the Lord night and day; that He would rather slay me than do this work." The Act of Dissolution was taken from the clerk of the house, and, after seizing the records, and ordering the doors to be locked, Cromwell returned to Whitehall.

Whitelock, who had been at the conference in the morning, and who was present in the house at the scene of its dissolution, *naïvely* remarks that, "Among all the parliament men, of whom many wore swords, not one offered to draw a sword

against Cromwell, nor to make the least resistance, but all tamely departed."

Thus was dissolved the "Rump" of the celebrated Long Parliament, after sitting constantly for nearly thirteen years.*

Cromwell had left the council of officers sitting at Whitehall, and on returning, he related to them what he had done, declaring that "he did not intend to do so when he went to the house; but," continued he, "perceiving the spirit of God so strong upon me, I would no longer consult flesh and blood." He then proceeded to the council of state.

Bradshaw, on this memorable day, presided at the council when Cromwell entered. It was both a proud, a solemn, and a responsible seat for a great and independent man, of strong nerve, sincere religious feelings, and a bold, yet disciplined spirit. In this solemn position sat Bradshaw when Cromwell entered, and, confronting the former, said, "Gentlemen, if you are here as private persons, you shall not be disturbed; if as a council of state, this is no place for you, for the parliament is dissolved, and with it the council."—"Sir," replied Bradshaw, with a spirit unmoved, and in language which might have dismayed any other man but the Lord General, "we have heard what you did at the house this morning, and before many hours all England will know it; but, sir, you are mistaken to think that the parliament is dissolved, for no power under heaven can dissolve them but themselves. Therefore take you notice of that."

* Perfect Politician, 168, 9; Whitelock, 554, 558; Ludlow, vol. ii., 19, 23, 425; Leicester's Journal, 139, 40; Several Proceedings, 186; Parliamentary History, 165; Heath, 339; Dugdale, 405.

After the council had made this protest, they rose and withdrew.* They never reassembled.

* Ludlow, *ubi supra;* Whitelock, 554; Hutchinson, 332; Several Proceedings, No. 186. Sir Arthur Haselrig (as related by Burton, vol. iii., p. 98) says: "I heard, being seventy miles off, that it was propounded that we should dissolve our trust, and dissolve it into a few hands. I came up, and found it so; that it was resolved in a *junto* at the Cockpit. I trembled at it, and was after there, and bore my testimony against it. I told them the work they went about was accursed. I told them it was impossible to devolve this trust. Next day we were labouring here in the house on an act to put an end to that parliament, and to call another. I desired the passing of it with all my soul. The question was putting for it when our general stood up, and stopped the question, and called in his lieutenant, with two files of musketeers, with their hats on their heads, and their guns loaded with bullets. Our general told us we should sit no longer to cheat the people, The Speaker, a stout man, was not willing to go. He was so noble that he frowned, and said he would not go out of the chair till he was plucked out, which was quickly done, without much compliment, by two soldiers, and the mace taken, and there was an end of the third estate also. I rejoiced then from my soul that the question was not put. But I would pass the severest sentence on those that did this horrid business that ever was passed on man, and would have been from my heart the executioner of it. But I forgive them now, both the dead and the living. There was no possibility to dissolve this parliament, the remaining part of the three estates, but by our own officer. He only had the power. Our enemies had none."

CHAPTER XIV.

CHARACTER AND ACTS OF THE LONG PARLIAMENT.

NOTWITHSTANDING the bold declaration of Bradshaw, the violent dissolution of the remains of the Long Parliament appears to have been generally approved by the nation. We can discover no manifestations either of condemnation or regret for its dispersion. Instead of reassembling or opposing the Lord General and the officers of the army, the members, with the exception of those few who adhered to Cromwell, appear to have gone quietly to their homes, and we hear no more of them until after the death of the great genius, who was invested with power and supreme command by the authority which he had thus violently destroyed; and until some of their most prominent members were after the restoration executed as regicides. So far, indeed, from any regret being manifested by the people of England, Scotland, or Ireland, at the annihilation of the "Rump" Parliament, each party exulted at the event: for each party hoped that its own principles and its views would now gain the ascendant. The officers and the soldiers of the army expected that

on the removal of the parliament, they would be able to establish a pure democracy, and a religious Commonwealth; and both army and navy, in the numerous addresses which were immediately forwarded to Cromwell, declared that they would "live and die, stand or fall," with the Lord General.

The Presbyterians of England and Scotland, and in the north of Ireland, considered that it would be impossible for Cromwell to govern without calling together a new parliament, in which case they anticipated a great majority in the legislature, and be able then to establish their own Church government as that of the state, and to re-enforce the penal laws against the Catholics. The latter were, at the same time, animated with the hope of obtaining at least full toleration for their worship by the restoration of Charles II. They were all disappointed. Not one of the projects or expectations of either party were realised.

To the Long Parliament, however, whatever may have been its defects, and in a constitutional view, its imperfections and illegalities were great, everlasting gratitude is due by every subject of these realms for a great portion of the civil and political liberty and of the religious freedom which they now enjoy. This parliament, which will ever be famous in British History, when it assembled on the 3rd of November, 1640, included as many partisans of the king as could be elected by the joint influence of the court and Church. But it soon appeared that they were far from constituting a majority of the house; that they numbered not among them Hampden, Pym, St. John, Bradshaw, Hollis,

Sir Harry Vane, Falkland, Algernon Sidney, Digby, Hyde, Selden, Saye, Rudyard, Lenthall, Whitelock, Russell, Martin, and other names, which were then deservedly illustrious, although some of them afterwards became apostates. The commons, from the first day of meeting, determined that a king should not exercise any power which was not authorised by *Magna Charta*, the 25th and 34th of Edward I., and the Petition of Rights. They had not, it is true, among them that great lawyer Sir Edward Coke, who had, twelve years before, and in the eightieth year of his age, drawn up the latter instrument. But they had among them great constitutional lawyers, and none more profound than Oliver St. John.

All the members of the house were also well known to their constituents, and they completely understood the sentiments and principles which prevailed in their respective towns and counties. Instead of submitting at once to the demands of the Crown, they impeached, tried, and executed a man whom they considered the most dangerous adviser and supporter of an arbitrary prerogative. Instead of supporting the tyranny of the Church, they imprisoned, tried, and executed the Archbishop of Canterbury; and they committed twelve bishops, ten to the Tower of London, and two to the custody of the Black Rod; while thirteen prelates who had been impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors were admitted to bail.

But when the commons undertook to purge the Church, they scandalised the love and charity inculcated by Christianity. They enforced the penal laws against the Roman Catholics, under the pre-

tence that true religion was in danger by the revival of Popery, which they alleged was encouraged by the court. When they found they could place no reliance either on the word, or even on the oath and writing of Charles I.; and when he withdrew a portion of the House of Commons and of the Lords, to form a separate parliament at Oxford, and to enable him still to proceed in arbitrary measures; and on his suppression of the civil and religious liberties of his subjects, they declared that war, against him, which ultimately led to his illegal trial and execution.

Pym, in 1643, introduced that most obnoxious tax, the excise duty, which can only be collected by the inquisitorial presence of the revenue officer, while the article taxed is in the progress of manufacture. It was introduced after the example of Holland; but it was intended then only as a temporary, or war tax, and was chiefly paid by all those who supported the views of the parliament, in fighting for the redemption, or rather the establishment, of civil and conscientious freedom. It has, however, been levied down to the present day, although the number of articles subjected to the severity of its exaction are now reduced from a multitude to a very few in number, the more prominent, excepting malt and distilled spirits, being the duties which affect the diffusion of knowledge, and the health and cleanliness of the people. Edward Prideaux, afterwards attorney-general, introduced a bill for taxing letters, which were then conveyed once a week to all parts of the country, and carried by the packets which plied regularly between England and Ireland.*

* Journals of the Commons, 28th March, 1642; and March 21, 1650.

But the labours of the Long Parliament were incessant. No less than forty committees were appointed to investigate questions that were considered as essential to the interests and liberties of the country. The house sat usually in the morning, the committees in the evening, and the larger committees were authorised to appoint sub-committees out of their number.* The parliament had also the responsibility of levying and disciplining the army, and providing for the payment of the soldiers. The king commanded the nobility to bring their followers to his army,—the parliament ordered the militia from the counties and the towns, while many of the counties sent forward their particular contingents. The parliament seized and sequestered the revenues of the estates of those who rose in arms against them, or who contributed to the maintenance of the king's forces. Committees of sequestration were consequently appointed in 1643, and by these were also collected two-thirds of the incomes of the Roman Catholics. Such measures were severe and arbitrary, and they were condemned, even by some of those who then sat in the Long Parliament.†

* Journals, No. 6, 164; Rushworth, vol. iv., p. 28.

† Hollis, in his Memoirs, section 128, says: "Now I appeal to all men, who there were, that had a hand in making all those penal ordinances, so severe for sequestration, so high for composition, so ensnaring and bloody for making new treasons, and little things to be capital crimes, that no man was safe or free from questions, and few or none were questioned but were destroyed. What committees were set up at Haberdashers' Hall to *pill* and *poll* men! fetching in some men into the house with whom they were displeased, and generally all men who had crossed or opposed them in anything." Hollis was a Presbyterian. The Presbyterians, in 1643, formed a great majority in the house, and it was that majority who passed those cruel laws. Hollis afterwards joined the Royalists.

The financial measures of the Long Parliament were severe, and, in many respects, unjust. Yet it would have been impossible for them otherwise to have maintained the contest against, or to have overcome the royal forces; and it is but just to say, that the Long Parliament allowed every explanation which could be offered in favour of the Catholics or Royalits, who were compelled to contribute to the general expenditure; while none of the sequestrations were proceeded with but in the regular and due forms of law: the right of appeal to a superior court being in all cases extended to the sufferers. But those arbitrary laws were tyrannical. All monies levied under the authority of parliament were paid directly to the treasurers at Guildhall, by whom correct and detailed accounts of its expenditure were kept.* The writ of *habeas corpus* is usually attributed to the government of Charles II., but it was really the act of the Long Parliament, having been introduced in the same act which abolished the Court of Star Chamber in July, 1641.†

Hitherto the judges of the tribunals held their offices during the king's pleasure—*durante bene placito*. But the Long Parliament instituted that the equity judges, and the attorney of the court of wards, should hold their patents during good behaviour—*quamdiu se bene gesserint*.‡

During the dynasty of the Tudors, and the reigns of James I. and Charles I., while the judges held their places during the king's pleasure, they were

* Scobell, *ubi supra*, and section 30.
† Scobell, 9; Rushworth, iv., p. 307.
‡ Journals, January 11th and 15th, 1641; Journals of the Lords, January 13th and 16th, 1643.

the chief instruments used for sanctioning the arbitrary measures of the crown. The courtly Clarendon, referring to the monstrous and illegal decision of the judges in favour of the king's raising ship-money, observes, that nothing could have been more damaging to the judicial character, than the manner in which they had been used by the Crown on that and similar occasions; adding, with truth, "there be no possibility to preserve the dignity, reverence, and estimation of the laws themselves, but by the integrity and innocency of the judges; and which question the concerns of the House of Peers, in the fury of the times, can be imputed to no one thing more than the irreverence and scorn the judges were justly held in."

Those judges never upheld the law in defence of the liberty of the subject, but made a jesuitical distinction between *the rule of law and the rule of government;* and when, in the courts of High Commission and Star Chamber, the prerogative was to be *strained* for an act of royal despotism, the judges were frequently told that if they did not sanction the same, they would be removed. This corruption is especially dwelt upon in the charges brought forward by the Long Parliament against Laud.

The court of wards, tenures, knight service, fines, seizures, pardons for alienation, and other feudal charges on property, were abolished by the Long Parliament.* It was not, however, until the Presbyterians were expelled from parliament that the unchristian act of uniformity was repealed; and here it is but just to say, that Cromwell was the most forward

* Journals, February 16th, 1641; July 24th, 1643; February 22nd and 24th, 1644; Blackstone, book ii., c. v. and xxiii.

advocate for religious toleration. The petition, which was presented by Fairfax and his council of officers on the 16th of August, 1649, states, "That the liberty desired by them was not the liberty which extended toleration to Popery and Prelacy—that allowed the book of Common Prayer, or the public scorn and contempt of God and his word."*

At this time Cromwell was at Milford Haven, ready to embark for Ireland; and he wrote to the parliament, recommending them to remove all penal statutes, as tending to oppress persons who were sincerely religious.† A bill was soon afterwards passed into law for the punishment of Atheism, blasphemy, and infidel opinions; which, however, in its provisions, contained the principles of inquisitorial persecution and punishment. Indeed, the charge of religious intolerance is the one of all others which casts a tarnish over the proceedings of the Long Parliament.‡ From this spirit Sir Harry Vane, Cromwell, Whitelock, and probably St. John, were free.

The Long Parliament was, as we have formerly observed, an illegally-constituted assembly. They had no more power confided to them by the people than the officers of the army, or any other arbitrary or usurped authority. But, notwithstanding all the accusations which are brought forward against those men, when we consider that they were an executive, as well as legislative, and even judicial body, we may only marvel at their general success in planning and carrying out great achievements. It cannot

* Journals; Whitelock.
† Journals; Whitelock; Perfect Politician.
‡ See note, Appendix.

therefore be denied that the "Rump" Parliament comprised men indefatigable in business, and who administered the affairs of the country with remarkable energy, and, with some intolerant exceptions, with justice. They forced no one to serve either in the army or navy; there was no impressment; yet they never wanted either soldiers or seamen. They at the same time displayed wonderful abilities both in civil and in military affairs; nor did they, during the last two years of their existence, exercise the religious tyranny and intolerance which marked the spirit of the Presbyterians and Episcopalians; and, notwithstanding the unconstitutional character of the courts of high justice which were instituted,—to the Long Parliament is due the credit of many reforms in the practice of the common law courts.*

It was under the Long Parliament that the civil war in England was successfully terminated; that Ireland was conquered by Cromwell, and Scotland reduced to obedience; that the navy of England, from a mean and feeble condition, became a magnificent and powerful defender of the country, able to cope with, and even defeat, the Dutch in several battles; and that, in the Mediterranean sea, the fleets and name of England caused greater dread to the Papal throne than the conquest of Constantinople and all the armaments of the Mohammedans.†

* Roger Coke, Detection of the Court and State of England, vol. ii., p. 30. Fourth edition.

† Algernon Sidney says: "When Van Tromp set upon Blake in Folkestone Bay, the parliament had not above thirteen ships against threescore, and not a man that had ever seen any other fight at sea than between a merchant ship and a pirate, to oppose the best captain in the world, attended by men of valour and experience not much inferior to him. Many other difficulties were observed in this unsettled state. Few ships, want of men, several factions, and some who, to advance

Notwithstanding the many great acts of the "Rump" Parliament, it is evident that the nation was wearied of its existence, and it is probable that the members would soon have found it necessary to dissolve themselves. Mr. Scott, in a speech delivered in the parliament of 1658, observes: "The Dutch war came on. If it had pleased God and his highness to have that little power of the parliament sit a little longer, when Hannibal is at Portas, something must be done —*extra leges*,—we intended to have gone off, and provided for a succession of parliaments. Had we stayed to the end of the Dutch war, we might have brought them to oneness with us. Their ambassadors did desire a coalition. This we might have done in four or five months. We never bade fairer for being masters of the world, not that I desire to extend our own bounds; we are well if we can preserve peace at home. If you be fain to fight Holland over again, it is vain to conceal it." Mr. Scott continues—"The parliament went out, and no complaining in the streets nor inquiry after them. It is according to the company they keep, men suit the letter to their lips. It is as men converse. I never met a zealous adherent of that cause but lamented to see faith broken and somewhat less. A petition was

particular interests, betrayed the public; but such was the power of wisdom and integrity in those who sat at the helm, that their diligence in choosing men was blessed with such success, that in two years our fleet grew to be as famous as our land armies. The reputation and power of our nation rose to a greater height than when we possessed the better half of France, and the Kings of France and Scotland were our prisoners. All the states, kings, and potentates of Europe respectfully, not to say submissively, sought our friendship; and the Romans were more afraid of Blake and his fleet than they had been of the great King of Sweden, when he was ready to invade Italy with 100,000 men."—*Discourses Concerning Government.* Second edition. London, 1704, p. 199.

presented the day after parliament was dissolved from forty chief officers, aldermen of the city of London, and many godly divines, except the rigid Presbyterians, too well-wishers to Love's treason boast, to have that parliament restored; but the Protector being resolved to carry on his war, threatened, terrified, and displaced them; and who would for such a shattered thing venture their all? I would not hazard a hair of his present highness's head. If you think of a single person, I would have him sooner than any man alive. Make your body, and then fit your head."* The subject then under discussion was the Protectorate of Richard Cromwell.

The violent dissolution of the parliament by Cromwell, when well considered, was neither so bold nor so hazardous an act as some have usually regarded it. Let it be kept in view that the assembly at Westminster had now diminished from 506 members—the number originally elected in 1640—to rather less than 100; first by the expulsion in 1648, and afterwards by deaths and varied causes; they had no hold whatever on the great body of the nation; and, notwithstanding the grandeur and success of their administration, the people only obeyed them through terror; while Cromwell, before he had attempted their dissolution, had become, to all intents and purposes, the master of Great Britain and Ireland. He had, in a great degree, constructed the government of the Commonwealth; for it was he who had induced the most able, vigorous, and intelligent of its statesmen, Sir Harry Vane and Oliver St. John, to enter the council of state.

* Burton's Diary, vol. iii., pp. 111, 112.

Fairfax, and many others who had fought during the civil wars, did not adhere to the Commonwealth; the government of which they regarded as an absolute oligarchy, wielded by Cromwell, Vane, Bradshaw, St. John, Whitelock, the chief officers of the army, and the "Rump" of the Long Parliament. But no sooner did the expulsion of those few members who constituted the parliament take place, than the government of the British Empire became vested in the absolute authority of the Lord General and the council of war. Yet a self-government, which is so prominent a quality of the English character, existed then as it does now; then, as now, the people were equally disposed to obey the laws,—to cherish the maintenance of order,—to observe a high reverence for morality and religion,—and to make the best use of their reason in weighing the advantages, which they possessed, against the risks and dangers of a general disturbance, or the calamities of another civil war. It was by these elements of character and morals in the British people, that the three nations of England, Scotland, and Ireland, were saved from the mad disorders of anarchy, and from the tyranny of despotism, during this important era in their history; and it is by the same characteristics that they have, in subsequent periods, been saved from similar calamities to those which had formerly in England, and which have, among other nations, then and down to the present century, so frequently,—so unfortunately, —and so unsuccessfully, been precipitated by oppression, and by great public excitement.

THE

PROTECTORATE AND SOVEREIGNTY

OF

OLIVER CROMWELL.

CHAPTER I.

NEW GOVERNMENT—COUNCIL OF STATE—THE NEW OR LITTLE PARLIAMENT—ITS CHARACTER—WAR WITH HOLLAND—NAVAL VICTORIES—REAPPEARANCE AND PERSECUTION OF JOHN LILBURNE—DISSOLUTION OF THE LITTLE PARLIAMENT.

CROMWELL was now charged, by himself and his military adherents, with the greatest responsibility that ever devolved on one head.

On the morning of the 20th of April, 1653, the liberties, the religion, and the administration of three sovereignties, were shared by a body of at least sixty persons, who, from the commencement of the civil war, had sat in an executive, legislative, and judicial capacity at Westminster. Before the close of that day, the whole of this authority and responsibility was usurped by one man.

Fortunately for the liberties of England, Cromwell was as transcendant a civil administrator as he was a great military general. The first objects to which

he directed his attention were measures for giving the people a full and free representation in parliament, the restoration of the legal tribunals, and trial by jury, and for securing to himself the sovereignty of the empire. There was but one restraint upon his power, and that was public opinion—a vague term, but one which is well understood to comprise the political and religious sentiments, the good sense, the traditions, and the prejudices of the people. The prejudices, the traditions, and the religion of the majority of the people were, however, unfavourable to the sovereignty of an usurper; but the general good sense, morality, and interests of the nation led to a prudent choice of the order and tranquillity which they knew he could maintain, in preference to resisting his authority and power, and involving the country in the calamities of a civil war,—to the interruption of all agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial industry,—and to the consequent impoverishment of both the counties and towns of the empire.

The power which maintained this order and tranquillity was the army, the soldiers of which relied upon their officers; and both officers and soldiers placed their confidence in Cromwell. But neither officers nor soldiers would consent to crown their Lord General as king; and as no one knew and understood their feelings and sentiments more clearly than Oliver, he carefully concealed his designs at this juncture, with respect to that ultimate object, both from them and from all his adherents. It was also evident, that if he had not dissolved the parliament, Sir Harry Vane and the Republicans would have

carried the bill then under discussion, which would have provided for dissolving that assembly, and for electing another on broad and free principles. This bill was denounced by Cromwell and his council of officers as containing provisions which would, were they passed into a law, inevitably destroy the Commonwealth by the election of a parliament in which the Royalists would greatly predominate.*

Cromwell, after this memorable event, did not rashly assume any other title than that of Lord General; and he prudently, before entering upon any important measure, formed a council of state, which was finally installed on the 29th day of May. On the 22nd of April, he, as Lord General, and his council of officers, published a declaration† explanatory of his proceedings on the 20th; and which asserted that the army was compelled, after all endeavours to persuade the "Rump" to dissolve themselves had failed, to dissolve them by force; and on the last day of April, Cromwell, as captain-general, issued a declaration, stating that the peace, safety, and present administration of public affairs should be entrusted to the council of state, "until persons of approved fidelity and honesty should be brought from different parts of the Commonwealth, in order to constitute the supreme authority."‡ In the same declaration or vindication of the Lord General, the Long Parliament was pronounced as "incapable of

* Several Proceedings, No. 187; Parliamentary Hist., vol. xx., p. 137 *et seq.* It is remarkable that no copy of this bill exists. It is said to have been engrossed, and to have been taken from the clerk by Cromwell. It was probably destroyed, although its leading articles may have been copied for future use.

† Printed by Henry Hills and Thomas Brewster, printers to the army, 1653.

‡ Moderate Publisher; Perfect Politician.

answering those ends which God had intended, and the whole nation expected; and that if it had been allowed to sit one day longer, it would have destroyed the interests of all honest men, and of their glorious cause." The council of war would, therefore, in its place call to the government persons of approved fidelity and liberality; and in the mean time it was required of public officers and ministers to proceed to their respective districts, and those "who feared and loved the name of the Lord were requested to be constantly beseeching Him on their behalf."*

The new council of state consisted of the Lord-General Cromwell; Majors-General John Lambert, Thomas Harrison, John Desborough; Colonels Anthony Stapley, William Sydenham, Philip Jones, Matthew Tomlinson,—Robert Bennet,—Sir Gilbert Pickering, Bart., Walter Strickland (who had been ambassador to Holland), John Carew, and Samuel Moyer.†

But notwithstanding the declaration of the Lord General and his council of officers, "that persons of approved fidelity and honesty should be summoned from various parts of the country," Cromwell soon

* Ludlow, ii., p. 24; Thurloe, i., pp. 265, 289, 395; Order Books of the Council in the State Paper Office. Thurloe says, that Sir Harry Vane, although so grossly insulted by Cromwell, was requested to take a place in the council, but he replied that, "Although the reign of the saints began, he should defer his share in it till he should get to heaven."

† In forming the council of state, some proposed seventy, being the number of the Jewish Sanhedrim. But it is asserted that the number of thirteen was preferred in imitation of Christ and the apostles, and having the recommendation that the fewer the number the more efficient the council. The president of this council was chosen weekly; Lambert the first, Pickering the second, and Harrison the third week.

perceived that his authority would be endangered if he trusted the people at that time with the election of their representatives.

The government of the country, and the levying a monthly assessment of 120,000*l.* for paying the army, and the various acts of administration which were exercised by the Long Parliament, proceeded under the new executive without interruption. The orders were issued at times from the council of state, and occasionally by the Lord General; but still a feeling of insecurity, with regard to the permanence of the government, was not only experienced by Cromwell, but vague and evil rumours agitated the public mind. A report was circulated that Cromwell was now on the point of bringing back the royal family—that Charles was to marry one of his daughters—and that the Lord General was to retain the command of the army. Another was promulgated that Cromwell was about to ascend the throne—that all the insignia of royalty had been prepared—and that the various addresses which were sent to Cromwell were, in many respects, artfully condemnatory, though apparently laudatory.*

Cromwell, in the mean time, appeared unassuming and humble. He preached and prayed as formerly; and he is represented as having frequent communications from the Divine Spirit.†

Before the end of May, and after eight days' consultation with his council, it was resolved that a

* Whitelock, pp. 556, 569; Leicester's Journal, p. 142; Mercurius Politicus, No. 157.

† Thurloe, i., pp. 256, 306.

parliament should be assembled, and summoned in a new and unprecedented form.* Early in the month of June, writs of summons were accordingly issued, signed by Cromwell alone, to 139 persons, for all the counties of England, the City of London included; six for Wales, five for Scotland, and six for Ireland. They were summoned in his own name, by the advice of the council of officers, to assemble at his council chamber at Whitehall, on the 4th of July, to take upon them the task of providing for the peace, safety, and good government of the Commonwealth.† The names in this list are said to have been provided by the ministers of the parish churches in the counties, who took the sense of their congregations as to who among them were the most faithful—fearing God, and hating covetousness; from which returns the Lord General and council selected those who were summoned as members.‡

Of all those summoned, two only returned a refusal; the others having actually regarded the call as a direction from heaven.§

* It is related by Ludlow (pp. 461, 462), that Cromwell having sent for Carew, one of the new councillors of state, and for Salway, who had been in the two preceding councils, he complained to them of the great responsibility which devolved on him, entreated them to draw up some plan which would relieve him from the temptations of his present authority, and requested them to advise with St. John, Selden, and some others, in order to prevail on them to draw up a project of government which would take the pain from off his shoulders. Salway abruptly replied, "Sir, to free you from this temptation, the way is for you not to look upon yourself as under it, but be persuaded that the power of the nation is, as formerly it was, in the good people of England."

† Several Proceedings, No. 192; Perfect Diurnal, p. 18; Whitelock, June 3, p. 537; Thurloe, p. 274; Ludlow, 462.

‡ Thurloe, i., p. 395; Letters in Milton's State Papers, pp. 92, 94, 96.

§ Thurloe, 274; Whitelock, 557; Exact Relations (1654), p. 2.

This parliament included all the members but the general officers and Colonel Mathew Tomlinson, of the council of state,—Lords Lisle and Eure, Monk, Blake, Henry Cromwell, Salway, Lockhart, Montague (afterwards Earl of Arundel), Howard (created afterwards Earl of Carlisle), Sir Anthony Astley Cooper, Sir Charles Wolsey; and from the City of London there were summoned Aldermen Tichbourne and Ireton; Moyer, of the council, Langley, Henry Barton, and *Praise-God* Barbone. The last gave a name to this parliament.

The council of state now carried on the usual business of the executive government. The council negotiated with the Portuguese ambassador, and the French resident, Bourdeaux, respecting a treaty of peace with France; and also with the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and the ambassadors of the United Provinces. The council also suspended four judges of South Wales, and appointed two new ones in their stead. This act of removing judges appeared arbitrary, but was the effect of complaints which Cromwell had made in the "Rump" Parliament, of the imperfect administration of justice in Wales.

The council of officers now exercised great authority; while the council of state, which consisted of four civilians and of nine military officers, may be regarded as representing the army rather than the country. It was by the spirit and the principles of this authority, directed by the genius of Cromwell, that the administration was governed, at the same time that the declaration for renewing the assessment of 120,000*l.* monthly for maintaining the army and navy was issued,—not in the name of the

council of state, but in that of the council of officers.* Nor must it be overlooked, that the summons signed by Cromwell to the members of his new parliament, was not signed by the advice of the council of state, but with that of his council of officers.†

In accordance with this summons, 120 members, esteemed as godly and faithful men, assembled in the council chamber at Whitehall. They were seated round a table on chairs. Cromwell, attended by a numerous suite of officers, addressed them standing, in a speech which took him three-quarters of an hour in delivery, and pronounced in a manner so agreeable to an audience of his own nomination, that they believed—and, probably, he was himself impressed with the same conviction—"that the spirit of God spoke in him and by him."

According to the official account, the Lord General made a "*very grave, Christian, and reasonable speech, wherein he briefly recounted the many wondrous miracles of God towards this nation.*" He set forth also "the progress made since the famous victory at Worcester, wherein that arch-enemy of this nation was wholly subdued; the acting of the army thereupon, together with the grounds and necessity of their dissolving a parliament which had uncommonly declined to be the preservation of this cause, and the interest of all honest men who have been engaged therein." He very ably held forth the "clearness of the call given to the present members that took upon them supreme authority, and from the Scriptures did exhort them

* Leicester's Journals, 142; Several Proceedings, 194; Whitelock, June 8th.

† See Whitelock.

to their duties, and encouraged them therein, desiring tenderness might be observed to all persons of what judgment or under what form soever; which, being ended, he produced an instrument under his own hand and seal, whereby he did, with the advice of his officers, devolve the authority of this Commonwealth into the hands of the persons therein named, to be held and acknowledged as the supreme authority of the nation, and to whom all persons are to yield obedience." "And they are not to sit longer than the 3rd of November, 1654. Before the dissolution they are to name persons to succeed them who did not sit for twelve months before. But it is left to them to take care for the succession of the government." Which instrument being delivered to the persons addressed, "his lordship commended them to the grace of God."* Before delivering this instrument, he declared his conviction, there was not a man amongst them who had not "faith in Jesus Christ, and love to his saints and people." He pressed on them especially the question of religious toleration; to be "faithful with all the saints, and to bear with the infirmities of those of a different judgment."†

* Mercurius Politicus, 160; Thurloe, i., p. 338.

† The aptitude with which Cromwell applied passages from Scripture to the circumstances of the times is remarkable; and especially on this occasion, when he quotes from Isaiah, chapter xli.,19th and 20th verses: "I will plant in the wilderness the cedar, the shittah tree, and the myrtle, and the oil tree; I will set in the desert the fir tree, and the pine, and the box tree together: That they may see, and know, and consider, and understand together, that the hand of the Lord hath done this, and the Holy One of Israel hath created it."—Milton's State Papers, p. 106 *et seq.* Parl. Hist. 20, p. 153. The Instrument of Government presented by Cromwell to this parliament has never been discovered, although we have its words or its substance recorded.

The whole speech is remarkable for its fervour, enthusiasm, and even eloquence. Cromwell now stood before the army and the country in a transcendant as well as in a disinterested position. He had surrendered his whole power to an authority of about the same number of men, the majority of them untried, as those who constituted the greatest number in the Long Parliament since the death of Charles I. Harrison and others, termed Republicans, rejoiced in this demonstration, as they considered it a pure act of patriotism on the part of Cromwell.

But by this act Cromwell did no more than conceal his views, for he had sufficient confidence in his own powers to enable him to maintain his ground above all other competitors; and in bowing to the men thus assembled as a parliament, and acknowledging them as his masters, he did not abandon his reserved and more natural sentiment of aspiring to the permanent supreme authority in the state. He also knew well, that although both the council of officers, as well as the other leading officers of the army, professed submission to this new civil authority, those men who had dispersed the "Rump" Parliament would not allow a new assembly to encroach upon their authority, or to reduce the military power. In fact, Cromwell acted a virtue, which it will ever be impossible to prove that he neither felt nor cherished. Nor can we, in judging of the conduct, character, and administration of this wonderful personage, separate him from his situation, or from the temper, manners, and

sentiments of the people over whom he ruled, and the age in which he lived.*

This parliament is spoken of sarcastically by Clarendon, Hume, and all Royalist writers and historians, as consisting chiefly of inferior persons. Lord Clarendon admits there were among them "divers of the quality and degree of gentlemen, with such proportion of credit and reputation as could consist with the quality they had contracted by Church bigotry. Part of them consisted of inferior persons of no quality, of whom, artificers of the meanest trades, known only by their gifts of praying and preaching, which was now practised by all degrees of men, but scholars, throughout the kingdom." And then he continues that, "in order to form a better judgment of the parliament, he would give a sample of the rest: 'Praise-God Barbone,' he says, "was a leather-seller in Fleet-street, from whom, he being an eminent speaker in it, it was afterwards called 'Praise-God Barbone's Parliament.'"† Hume designates the greater portion of this parliament "low mechanics, fifth-monarchy men, Anabaptists, Antimonians, Independents—the very dregs of the fanatics."‡

* I have endeavoured, and shall study to keep these considerations faithfully in mind, not only with respect to Cromwell, but all other sovereigns and public characters throughout this history.

† Clarendon, vol. vi., p. 480. Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, one of the most eminent and active men of this parliament, was stigmatised by Dryden as—

"A vermin wriggling in the usurper's ear,
Bartering his wily wit for sums of gold,
He cast himself into the saint-like mould,
Groan'd, sigh'd, and pray'd while godliness was gain,
The loudest bagpipe of the squeaking train."

‡ See History of England, vol. vii., p. 228. He reviles them further by remarking: "All fanatics being consecrated by their fond imagina-

Hume further states, but without any authority, that Cromwell began to be ashamed of his legislature. The fact appears to be, that the members proved different men in their sentiments and principles from the compliant disposition and temper which he had expected from them, by evincing an aptitude for business, and a determination not to be made the mere available instrument of Cromwell and the council of officers.

tions, naturally bear an antipathy to the ecclesiastics," and for taking away of tithes, "which they call relics of Judaism." Surely no one will deny that tithes are the relics of Judaism! Hume himself would have been the last of all men who would deny this, if he treated of tithes in his philosophical essays. But let us read what Hume says of tithes in a more rational and unbiassed part of his fascinating history, than where he writes of the Stuarts, the Cromwells, and the Puritans. "The ecclesiastics, in those days of ignorance, made rapid advances in the acquisition of power and grandeur. Not content with the donations of land made them by the Saxon princes and nobles, and with temporary oblations from the devotion of the people, they had cast a wishful eye on a vast revenue, which they claimed as belonging to them by a sacred and indefeasible title. However little versed in the Scriptures, they had been able to discover that, under the Jewish law, a tenth of all the produce of land was conferred on the priesthood; and, forgetting what they themselves taught, that the moral part only of that law was obligatory on Christians, they insisted that this donation conveyed a perpetual property, inherent by divine right in those who officiated at the altar. During some centuries, the whole scope of sermons and homilies was directed to this purpose; and one would have imagined, from the general tenour of these discourses, that all the practical parts of Christianity were comprised in the exact and faithful payment of tithes to the clergy. They pretended to draw the tenth of all industry, merchandise, wages of labourers, and pay of soldiers; nay, some canonists went so far as to affirm that the clergy were entitled to the tithe of the profits made by courtesans in the exercise of their profession. Though parishes had been instituted in England by Honorius, Archbishop of Canterbury, near two centuries before, the ecclesiastics had never yet been able to get possession of the tithes; they, therefore, seized the present favourable opportunity of making that acquisition, when a weak, superstitious prince (Ethelwulf), filled the throne, and when the people, discouraged by their losses from the Danes, and terrified with the fear of future invasions, were susceptible of any impression which bore the appearance of religion. So meritorious was this concession—the tithes—deemed by the English, that, trusting entirely to supernatural assistance, they neglected the ordinary means of safety, and agreed, even in the present desperate extremity, that the revenues of the Church should be exempted from

So far from showing themselves to be "dregs of the fanatics," they proved men of business and independent fortunes; and, as one of their number observed, "If all had not very *bulky estates*, yet they had *free estates*, and were not of broken fortunes, or such as owed great sums of money, and stood in need of privilege and protection, as formerly."* The house distributed the business of the country regularly among committees. There were committees for Scotland, Ireland, the army, and the law; for regulating all salaries and offices; for examining the public accounts and the receipts and expenditure of the revenue; for the inspection of the public debts; for commissioners of the peace; inquiring into frauds and breaches of the public trust; and for the advancement of education.† Inquiries were instituted with a view to the abolition of the Court of Chancery, on account of its delays, expenses, and the ruin of suitors or defendants; also with the view of codifying and simplifying the common and statute laws; and for completing the union between England and Scotland. In regard to the abolition of tithes, a provision was made for the maintenance of public preachers.‡

On carefully examining all the records we possess

all burdens, though imposed for national defence and security."—*Hume's Hist. of England*, vol. i., pp. 72, 73.

* Whitelock, p. 559; Exact Relations, p. 19. We find in the Journals that many of the oldest nobility, such as the Earl and Countess of Derby, Earls of Shrewsbury, Worcester, Mansfield, and numerous others, condescended to petition this parliament.

† Journals, 20th July, 1653.

‡ The proposition of this parliament was, that *tithes* should be wholly taken away; and that those from whom they were due should pay, in lieu thereof, a certain rent-charge; and that ministers should either be paid by the voluntary contributions of their hearers, or by some settled pension out of the public treasury.

of this short parliament, we see no occasion for the virulent accusations made by the ecclesiastics, and by Hume, Clarendon, and other distinguished writers, against its proceedings. We do not find that it intended to pass laws for the confiscation and sale of the lands of the universities, or to carry into effect any violent measure, even with regard to tithes. This parliament, however, always acted with great respect towards Cromwell. On the second day of its sitting, a resolution was passed that eight of their leading members should proceed to the Lord General, to invite his presence and assistance in the house as a member thereof; and that Major-General Harrison, Major-General Desborough, and Colonel Tomlinson, should also be called to assist as members of the parliament.

Whitelock, alluding to this parliament, remarks: "It was much wondered by some that those gentlemen, many of them persons of fortune and knowledge, would at this summons, and at his hands, take upon them the supreme authority of the nation." But it would have been foolish as it would have been captious for those men to dispute the authority under which they assembled. The necessities and condition of the country formed a sufficient justification for not declining the responsibility, although it was thrust upon them. The council of state appointed by Cromwell had ceased to exist the moment he surrendered his power to the parliament; and by them a new council was selected, not one of the members of which were chosen from such persons as those described by Clarendon and Hume. Nor in fixing the number

of councillors were they influenced by any Scriptural reference, either to the Sanhedrim or the Apostles. The council consisted of thirty-one members, which included Cromwell, and the whole of the council of thirteen, together with Richard Salway, Viscount Lisle, Lieutenant-General Fleetwood, and Colonel Richard Norton, who had sat in the councils of state of the Commonwealth. The other members were Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Sir Charles Wolsley, Sir James Hope, Colonels Lawrence and Hewson, Edward Montague, Charles Howard, Alderman Tichbourne, Richard Major, Hugh Courtenay, Thomas Nicholas, Dennis Hollister, Edward Broughton, and John Williams: each of whom ranked as gentlemen, and some of whom were allied to the nobility;* and so far from *Barbone* being a prominent member of the house, it appears that he only sat on one committee—that for petitions.

The war with the Dutch was continued; and the command of the fleet given to Monk, on the ground, as it is asserted, that Blake was too good a Republican to be entirely acceptable to the Lord General. But this does not appear conclusive or just; for it is alleged of Blake, when he heard of the dissolution of parliament, that he said to his brother officers and seamen, "It is no business of ours to mind state affairs, but to keep foreigners from fooling us."† He was one of the most pure patriots; and his skill and bravery, and the admirable management of Sir Harry Vane, who was charged with the

* Journals.
† Kennet's Complete History of England.

naval department, first rendered the British navy terrible on the ocean.

The supreme authority being now exercised by Cromwell and his councils of officers, and of state, no less than four ambassadors arrived immediately after from Holland with proposals of peace. Cromwell received them on the 22nd of June, but he absolutely refused the cessation of hostilities during the negotiations; and they found they could obtain no terms except those which the Lord General dictated, and which they probably considered as derogatory to the power and dignity of the States-General. The war was therefore continued.

The fleets of the Spaniards and the Dutch, the ships of the Hansai, Pisans, Genoese, Amalfians, and the Venetians,—even those of the Portuguese, were, before the civil war, more renowned on the seas than the English fleet. It is true that the navy of England became for a time, under Queen Elizabeth, sufficiently powerful, aided by storms, to defeat the Spanish Armada.

Now the fleets of the Commonwealth had not only harassed the trade of France,—captured many rich French and Portuguese ships,—defeated the fleets of Holland, but the British navy was rendered so formidable as to defy all the whole naval powers of Europe. The dock-yards at Woolwich, Chatham, and Portsmouth, were enlarged, and numerous ship-builders and artisans were constantly employed in those naval arsenals.*

* After the Dutch war, the expenses of the navy was complained of in parliament. Goddard, alluding to the navy, says: "We had 100 sail now *abroad*. The charge of every seaman heretofore was 3*l*. 15*s*. per mensem, by the head, and 7½d. victual per diem; now we give

During the sitting of the parliament, John Lilburne appeared again as a disturber of public authority, and to oppose the power of Cromwell. In January, 1652, he was banished. He had quarrelled with all classes, and with all religious sects. There was no public man whom he had not attacked with scurrility. Royalists, Republicans, bishops, and preachers, with no exceptions, were the objects of the rage and attacks of this general assailant of private, as well as official characters. On leaving England, he took refuge in Holland, where, dreading assassination, he courted the Royalists, especially the Duke of Buckingham, Sir James Culpepper, Sir Ralph Hopeton, and Bishop Bramhall; and to whom, on the dissolution of the Long Parliament, he proposed for 10,000*l.* to destroy Cromwell, the new parliament, and the council of state in less than six months, and bring over a majority of the army to his views, pretending that he had a large party of supporters in England. But those desperate proposals were not accepted.* He returned to England

8½d. in victual per diem, and 4*l.* 10s. per mensem. Our customs, which heretofore maintained the naval charge, did not exceed 300,000*l.* per annum. They are now worth 400,000*l.* per annum, which will maintain sixty-five ships, at the rate of 4*l.* 10s. per poll, and, reducing the pay to the former allowance and rate, it will maintain seventy ships.

"The customs of Scotland are well near worth 409,000*l.* (?) per annum. Sixty-five ships, with this charge, may be maintained in summer, and twenty-five always for a winter guard, which may be thought sufficient for our security and service.

"It was confessed to be true that our charge of the ships and seamen was advanced in pay. Some men had 16s., 20s., and 24s. per week, and yet they can have more in any merchant ships. But sixty-five ships could not be maintained for 400,000*l.* per annum, unless they be very small ships, and few or none of them 1st, 2nd, or 3rd rate ships; for if there be, they cannot be maintained under 500,000*l.* per annum. Besides, there is the charge of the office of the ordnance, and a continual built of ships to supply the decays of the old."

* Lilburne denied those accusations; but they were confirmed by

immediately after the dissolution of the Long Parliament, having previously written a respectful letter to Cromwell, in which he accuses Sir A. Haselrig and Thomas Scott as fabricators of the false charge against him of conspiring with the Royalists. But the character of Lilburne was too notorious and impracticable to be considered by Cromwell, except with disgust and abhorrence.* On his arrival in London, he wrote to Cromwell; but on the following day he was committed to Newgate.

It was alleged that he was accompanied as far as Calais by the Duke of Buckingham; and the council of state certainly believed that he had returned to England with desperate intentions. He was banished under an act of parliament, which sentenced him to the penalty of death in the event of his return to England, without any other form than the proof of his identity. But Cromwell, believing that he was a fit example to be tried, and out of a desire to restore the system of trials by jury in political as well as in criminal cases, ordered him to be indicted before a jury. He was accordingly placed in the dock at the Old Bailey on the 13th of July. Chief Baron Wyld, Keble, Warburton, Steele, the Recorder of London, and Prideaux, the attorney-general, were the presiding judges. The law officers pressed Lilburne to plead to the statute under which he had been banished, and by which, in the event

the sworn evidence of four different witnesses, whose testimony agreed; and no one doubted his guilt. But the witnesses, it must be remembered, were the spies of Cromwell.

* Hume says: "This man was the most turbulent, but the most upright and courageous of human kind."—*Hist. Eng.*, vol. v., p. 202. His trial, in 1651, is justly enough condemned by Hume; but I cannot join in his eulogy on Lilburne's character.

of his returning to England, he was to suffer death. But the trial had been delayed until after the meeting of parliament, in consequence of the great number of petitions from his old partisans, praying for delay; an appeal which Cromwell willingly responded to, probably to render the legislature responsible for the result. To the parliament, petitions were sent from Lilburne, from his wife, from the apprentices of London, who threatened, as well as petitioned, and from his partisans in the neighbouring counties. He sent forth at the same time intemperate publications, which irritated the members, who, in consequence, had all the depositions as to Lilburne's intrigues laid before the house, and they ultimately declined to interfere with the due course of the law. Lilburne refused to plead to the statute; he brought forward numerous objections; started difficulties at every point, and at every turn in the case; and he charged the judges with unfair dealing, and with unfeeling tyranny. He demanded counsel, and named Hale, Maynard, and Glynn. On the fourth day of the trial he sent in a bill of exceptions, contending that the act was not an Act of the Commonwealth of England, or of the parliament sitting at Westminster; for such did not appear on the face of the act; that there was no judgment given on which the sentence was founded; that there could be no judgment without an indictment, presentment, or information: further, that the act and the vote of the house were contradictory; that the law specified twenty days as the period, after which it would be felony in him to remain in England, Scotland, or Ireland; that the Act of

Banishment was against Lieutenant-Colonel Lilburne, while he was indicted as John Lilburne; that there was no proof that John Lilburne was the person named in the act; that he was not a lieutenant-colonel when the act was passed; that there were other persons in England whose names and rank were John Lilburne, gentleman; any one of whom they might as well hang as hang him.'

The court refused to receive this bill of exceptions, unless signed by his counsel. The counsel assigned him, however, were out of town; but on the evening of the same day it was signed by Maynard, and by Norbury, one of the Welsh judges dismissed by Cromwell. Maynard had great reputation as a lawyer; he was a sturdy Presbyterian; and being anxious to extend his legal fame, he advised Lilburne, in order to save his life, to demand his *Oyer*, or a detail under the great seal, stating the act on which he was tried, the judgment of banishment against him, and the declaration of the crime or crimes on which that judgment had been based. No individual record of the judgment, or of the accusations upon which that judgment was founded, could then be discovered; and the court refused to grant him any statement further than a specification of the act, threatening, that if he did not plead to that act, he should be proceeded against for contumacy. On the 20th of August he submitted to plead, and he was tried before a jury. The trial lasted three days. He pleaded his own case,—addressed the jury with great and impressive ability,—and dwelt upon the iniquity of the whole proceedings in which they were called to pronounce him

guilty. He denied that he ever committed any crime; but, on the contrary, that his whole life had been devoted to the service of his country, and spent in contending for civil and religious liberty. The jury could know nothing of any crime for which he was accused ; they had nothing but the bare Act of Parliament, ordering Lieutenant-Colonel Lilburne into banishment, and threatening him, if he returned, with execution as a felon. He appealed to their sense of justice, to the peace of their consciences, to their honesty as men, not to send a man to the gallows for words written by other men on paper or on parchment.

Lilburne was acquitted by the jury. Several thousands of persons surrounded the court, hundreds of whom were said to be secretly armed, in order to attempt his rescue, if he were condemned; while papers were circulated all over London, declaring that if Lilburne perished, 20,000 persons would die with him. To maintain the peace, two companies of soldiers were stationed in the immediate neighbourhood of the court, and three regiments of infantry, and one of cavalry, were stationed in the city.

There is no correct account of this trial on record; but it is alleged that when the verdict of acquittal was pronounced, the shouts of his partisans resounded as far as the apartments of Cromwell at Whitehall. But the parliament, notwithstanding this verdict, were unanimous in confining Lilburne to the Tower, on the sole authority of the Act of Banishment, from whence he was afterwards sent as a prisoner to Elizabeth Castle, in the Isle of Jersey. He was afterwards liberated from confinement on

account of his health: he being affected with an incurable pulmonary complaint, of which he died in August, 1657, at the age only of thirty-nine years.*

Such was the end of this remarkable, and probably honest, yet wrong-minded, and unscrupulous man. He is said to have died a convert to the peaceable doctrines of the Quakers.

In this Little Parliament, or rather Convention, there were two parties arrayed against each other; the most prominent of which was that of the Independents,—who, although the least numerous, was by far the most able and intelligent. They were supporters of the Lord General and the council. The other consisted chiefly of Anabaptists, whose leader was Major-General Harrison. This sect was guided chiefly by religious and political fanaticism, by ultra-Republican sentiments, and by a belief in the early advent of the reign of Christ with his saints upon earth. They, by the reluctance with which they passed the military tax of 120,000*l.*, a-month, by their proceedings with regard to law reform and tithes; and by the public sermons of their preachers, fell under the ridicule of the gentry and the lawyers. The Anabaptists also incurred the hatred of the army, and of the clergy of all other sects. But an examination of most of the measures which they proposed, will show that the opprobrium that had been heaped upon their heads was nearly wholly undeserved.† In the mean time, there appeared

* Defensive Declaration, p. 13 *et seq.*; Weekly Intelligencer, p. 124; Thurloe, vol. i., pp. 300, 420, 453; vol. iii., pp. 510, 629; Athen. Oxon.; Exact Relations, p. 5; State Trials, vol. v., pp. 415, 450; Whitelock, pp. 558, 591; Journals, January 13th and 14th; August 22nd, 27th; and November 26th.

† Dr. Lingard appears to me to write with as little impartiality towards the Anabaptists as Hume does regarding the Puritans. But

manifestations of discontent and revolt in Scotland; but tranquillity was soon restored and maintained throughout the empire.

Cromwell, at this period, although he in reality wielded all authority, appeared as if he were no more than a private person—although he was Lord General of the army, and one of the council of state. Whitelock had discouraged Cromwell's views with regard to the crown; but the Lord General sent this prudent statesman as ambassador extraordinary to Christina, Queen of Sweden.*

it is to their zeal for religion that Dr. Lingard directs his fury against the convention. I fully agree with him so far as he confines himself to the intolerance of that assembly, in passing an act for the extirpation of Popish priests and Jesuits, and despoiling two-thirds of the real and personal estate of Popish recusants; but I believe that a large majority of the present inhabitants of Great Britain will differ from him—and, if he were a sincere Papist, he must have differed from himself—when he remarks that, "After this preliminary skirmish with Antichrist, they proceeded to attack Satan himself in his stronghold of advowsons. It was, they contended, contrary to reason, that any priest or individual should possess the power of imposing a spiritual guide upon his neighbours, and therefore they resolved that presentations shall be abolished, and the choice of the minister be vested in the body of the parishioners." Now this resolution was the same as that which Dr. Chalmers, and a great majority of the clergy of Scotland, agreed upon, when they gave up their convenient and comfortable manses and their ample stipends, and threw themselves, by free Church principles, on the uncertain chances of voluntary maintenance. "From advowsons," says Dr. Lingard, "the next step was tithes, and they declared that tithes ought to be done away with, and in their place a compensation made to the impropriators, and a decent maintenance provided for the clergy," p. 196. This proposal again is not very dissimilar in principle to the commutation of tithes, which was effected in England a few years ago. The weekly lectures of Feakes and Powell, delivered before numerous audiences at Blackfriars, are denounced for their political, or rather intolerant, exhortations. I cordially join him in condemning the intolerance of those preachers, but not in the spirit of his censures.

* With regard to this mission, which was disagreeable to Whitelock, he tells us "that he had several conversations with his lady; that he considered the voyage and the climate both dangerous and disagreeable to his wife, who was unwilling to give her consent, but would not absolutely refuse, not knowing what might be the consequences to his family." He says further, in a conversation with one of his tenants, "It is true the general would have me go, but I am not

Although the labours of the Little Parliament were nearly all meritorious, some of its proceedings deserve special notice: such as those having reference to the system of debtor and creditor,—the efforts to abolish the Court of Chancery, which was found to be the chief grievance of the nation, for its dilatoriness, enormous expenses, and the lingering oppressions of its proceedings—there being, it was asserted, no less than 23,000* causes, which had been from five to thirty years in that court, "into which every ship (that is to say cause) which sailed in the sea of the law was compelled, first or last, to put into port. For what was ordered in it one day was condemned the next; so in some causes there had been 500 orders or more. That this chancery was a mystery of wickedness, and a standing cheat, in which so many horrible things were framed; and that those who had been bound to be its advocates, had little to say on its behalf." Three bills were introduced for supplanting the chancery, but they were rejected as impracticable; a fourth was prepared, and, during one day's debate in the house, the question was put, and it was voted that the chancery should be altogether abolished, and the bill was read in the house and committed.† Had this parliament lasted long enough to carry this vote

bound to obey him in all things; I am not under his command. What can he do to me at all?" The countryman replied, "What can he not do? Do we not all see that he does what he lists? I would not have you anger him, lest you, fearing danger and trouble in your family, for which there would be cause for it."—Journals of the Swedish Embassy, Sept. 5th, 10th, and 12th.

* This number appears incredible. It must have been a misprint; for even 2300 would be enormous.

† Journals, August 24th; Scobell, p. 319; Exact Relations, from July 4th, 1653, to 1659.

into a law, it would have deserved the everlasting gratitude of the nation. Both with respect to the Court of Chancery, and the project for forming a simple code of laws, the proceedings of this parliament were marked with great intelligence, honesty, and good sense.*

On the 1st of November a new council of state was elected, the members being chosen from the former council, and an equal number of new members were introduced; but Fleetwood and Lambert were not included. The Little Parliament was unable, by its constitution and by the circumstances of the country; and especially by the position of Cromwell and the army, to carry into effect any

* Dr. Lingard finds no merit in the Little Parliament. "The Reformers," says he, "were not content with the abolition of a single court (alluding to the Court of Chancery), but they resolved to cleanse the whole of the Augean stable. 'What,' asked they, 'made up the law? A voluminous collection of statutes, many of them almost unknown, and many inapplicable to existing circumstances; the dicta of judges, perhaps ignorant, frequently partial, and interested; the reports of cases, but so contradictory, that they were originally marshalled in hosts of each other; and the usages of particular districts, only to be ascertained through the teachers or the memories of the most aged of the inhabitants. Englishmen had a right to know the laws by which they were to be governed—that is to say, to collect from the present system all that was really useful to improve it by necessary additions, and to comprise the whole within the small compass of a pocket volume.' With this view it was resolved to compose a new body of law, which task was assigned to a committee, and a commencement was made by the revision of statutes respecting treason and murder. But those views and proceedings scattered alarm through the courts of Westminster, and ten thousand voices and as many plans were employed to protect from ruin the venerable fabric of English jurisprudence."—Lingard, v. xi., pp. 194-5. But can those attempts to simplify conflicting and obscure laws, which really had no reference whatever to abolishing *Magna Charta*, or the other great constitutional laws, be condemned by any reasonable or unbiassed man? No wonder that alarm spread through the law courts; when an attempt was made to restrain the lawyers from plundering the gains of honest industry, and wasting property in law-suits! In 1655 Cromwell introduced a great improvement in an ordinance for the better regulating and limiting the jurisdiction of the High Court of Chancery. See Ordinance in Scobell, p. 324. Whitelock rose objections to it. See p. 621.

great project, however wisely contrived; and it seemed evident that the Lord General had brought its members together, in so unprecedented a form, for the purpose of gaining time to enable him to mature his own designs. To the same cause, and to their plans of church reform, may be traced the opprobrium cast upon them, and the want of confidence manifested towards them by the country; for the council of officers, the clergy, the lawyers, and Cromwell's friends, all conspired to promulgate the most unwarrantable calumnies against this remarkable assembly.

On the 12th of December, Colonel Sydenham, no doubt instructed for the purpose by Cromwell, rose and addressed the speaker, preferring various charges against the majority of the members. He accused them of attempting to ruin the clergy, overturn the laws, and invade the property of the people; and with attempting to substitute for those laws, which were the birthrights of Englishmen, a short obscure code, founded on the law of Moses,* which were never adapted to any other people on earth but the Jewish nation. After attacking all their measures, he concluded by moving, "that the continuance of the parliament, as at present constituted, will not be for the good of the Commonwealth, and that it is therefore necessary to repair to the Lord General, and deliver back into his hands the power which they received from him."†

Although these accusations were odious false-

* This charge is unfounded. A few fanatics, it is true, demanded the law of Moses.

† Journals; Ludlow, p. 472 *et seq.*; Exact Relations, p. 25; Clarendon, p. 484; Parliamentary Hist.; Harris's Life of Cromwell, p. 321.

hoods, and were defended with ability by several members, the house was not allowed to go to a division. Sydenham's proposal was carried by a glaring farce. Rouse, the Speaker, rose and left the chair; the serjeant carried the mace before him out of the hall; and the Speaker, accompanied by as many members as were favourable to the motion, proceeded directly to Whitehall, having left behind in Westminster no more than thirty-four or thirty-five members, who were insufficient to form a *quorum*. These, however, continued in consultation with the view of arriving at some decision; but they were interrupted by Colonel Goffe and Major White, who cleared the house by introducing a file of musketeers. The doors were then closed.

On the Speaker, with the seceders, arriving at Whitehall, they drew up on paper a formal resignation of their powers, which each of their number signed, and placed in the hands of Cromwell. He expressed great surprise, and was only prevailed on by Lambert and others, under apparently great reluctance, to accept that authority, which he had himself, with his friends, contrived. This instrument was afterwards signed by several other members of the Little Parliament.*

* Exact Relation, pp. 23, 27; Thurloe, pp. 637, 730; Parliamentary Hist., vol. xx., pp. 354, 355; True Narrative, pp. 3, 6; Mansel.

CHAPTER II.

THE SOVEREIGNTY OF OLIVER CROMWELL—THE HUMBLE PETITION AND ADVICE—THE WAR WITH HOLLAND.

THE Little Parliament, or Convention, which had, as we have stated in the last chapter, resigned to Cromwell whatever power he allowed its members to exercise, were, as a body, the mere nominees of the Lord General, and of his council of officers. It is true that, on summoning that assembly, he assured them that his object was to invest in them the exercise of all political power, and, at the same time, communicated his fears lest the administration of the Commonwealth should fall into the hands of the officers of the army. His own wish, added he, was to retire into private life, and he now sought, with the greater confidence, to resign all power to the parliament, because he believed there did not exist a man among them who wanted faith in Jesus Christ, or who loved not all his saints and people. He even went the length of professing that on his own part, and on that of his fellow officers, they would always hold themselves as the servants of this parliament, or, rather, convention.

But so skilfully were the preparations made, for investing him with supreme authority, that he, who denied having any knowledge of the convention resigning its power, until the arrival of the speaker, and other members with the instrument at Whitehall, was three days afterwards installed, with great solemnity and pomp, as Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland. This was not a ceremony of Republican simplicity; nothing of the "pomp and circumstance" was wanting to render the occasion, as imposing and as magnificent, as that on which the sovereigns of England were first privileged to wear a crown. The floor of Westminster Hall was decorated with a rich carpet, and a chair of state, or throne, was placed at the upper end. The procession, with the Lord General in his carriage, from the palace of Whitehall, moved between two superb lines, consisting of five regiments of foot under arms, and three regiments of cavalry. The aldermen of London, the judges, the commissioners of the great seal, and the lord mayor, passed on in the procession before the Lord Protector; the council of state and the council of officers followed immediately behind. At Westminster, he alighted from his carriage,—entered the great hall,—and, with as dignified an attitude as any king, he ascended to the chair of state. He was dressed in his favourite suit of black velvet, with a broad gold band round his hat, and he wore long boots. Lord Commissioner Lisle stood on his right side, and the other Lord Commissioner on the left. The judges,—the lord mayor and aldermen,—the council of state,—the council of

officers,—and his life-guards, took their places on the right and left: all standing with their heads uncovered.

Lambert, who, if he did not prepare, was entrusted with the address to the Lord General,—as well as the instrument of government, consisting of forty-two articles,—then approached the chair of state; and, after submitting a few observations, on the self-dissolution of the parliament, and the urgent necessity of a strong government for administering the laws of Great Britain and Ireland, he appealed to his excellency, in the name of the council of state,—of the council of officers,—and of the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, to take upon himself the responsibility and dignity of chief magistrate of the Commonwealth, as Lord Protector. The instrument of government was then read by Jessop, one of the clerks of the council; it was entitled, "The Government of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Dominions thereto belonging."*

Cromwell, who evinced not only an apparent ignorance of these preparations,—but even a considerable degree of surprise, replied generally to the remarks of Lambert; and, either with a real or feigned reluctance, yielded to their entreaties to accept the high office of Lord Protector, which actually conferred on him the whole power and attributes of a sovereign, with the exception of the royal designation and the crown. The Lord Commissioner Lisle first read, and then presented to him

* See verbal copy of this admirable document, from the original in black letter, in the Appendix to this volume.

the oath, which Cromwell took with great solemnity, declaring, that he would himself observe, and that he would cause the articles of the Instrument of Government to be observed by all others within Great Britain and Ireland.

Lambert, then, on bended knees, presented the Lord Protector with the civic sword in its scabbard; on which Cromwell laid down his military sword, to signify that he intended to govern the Commonwealth by no other authority than the constitutional laws of the nation. He then raised himself from the chair of state and put on his hat,—all those who surrounded him still remaining uncovered. He received from the lords commissioners the great seal, and from the lord mayor his sword of office. He returned the seal to the former, and the sword to the latter; and, after performing those acts of sovereign power, he descended from the chair of state, preceded and followed as before, and, entering his carriage, returned to the palace of Whitehall. The new government, by the Lord Protector and by triennial parliaments, was then proclaimed with the ceremonies usual on the occasions of a coronation.

But, allowing that the whole drama of dissolving the Long Parliament,—of nominating a mock parliament or convention,—of the latter resigning its powers to Cromwell,—and of his reluctance to accept the office and dignity of Lord Protector, were all the results of a masterly hypocrisy and dissimulation; yet, nevertheless, is the conclusion at the same time forced upon us, that all his measures were inspired with a zeal for the welfare of the English people, and the credit and security of the Commonwealth.

He retained six of the wisest councillors of the old council,—and selected the remaining seven, immediately after his installation as Lord Protector, from those who were recommended by his first parliament. That the high rank which had just been conferred on him excited much jealousy and disaffection among the great majority of the people, is undeniable; yet those who hated him personally, detested the republic, and yearned for the return of the exiled family, became wearied of attempting a revolution, dreading the calamities of another civil war, and the fatal dangers which would attend renewed hostilities. Thus, while detesting Oliver Cromwell, they adhered to the maxim of wisdom, so properly considered the better part of valour, from the conviction that no other man could enforce an obedience to the laws, and maintain the tranquillity of the three kingdoms, under a Commonwealth government.

The Lord Protector did not, however, trust to their forbearance, nor even to the moderation of many of those who had been his companions in arms, and who had contributed to his elevation. Cromwell has been charged by more than one historian, not unfriendly to the republican form of government, with having treacherously abandoned his former democratical principles, in order to accelerate his private views, and to raise himself to the kingly dignity.*

But before we enter upon the administration of

* Among those are Goodwin and Dr. Harris; the first a thorough republican, the latter an intolerant sectarian. We may also include Dr. Lingard, who, when writing of Cromwell, seems to have been unable to divest himself of the feelings usually entertained by the Roman Catholics towards that illustrious personage.

Cromwell as Lord Protector, it will be necessary to advert to the Instrument of Government to which he had recently pledged himself by oath. By this act of constitution, the supreme legislative authority of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, "and the dominions thereunto belonging," was invested in one person, and the representatives of the people in parliament assembled. The style of this person was, to be "Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland, assisted by a council, the number whereof should not exceed twenty-one, nor less than thirteen."—"All rights, processes, commissions, patents, grants, and other things, hitherto running in the name and style of the 'Keepers of the Liberty of England by authority of parliament,' should run in the name and style of the Lord Protector;" from whom alone should proceed "all magisterial honours, power of pardons, except in cases of murder and treason,—forfeitures for the public use;" and who should govern the "said countries and dominions by the advice of the council, and according to the Instrument of Government." The Lord Protector and the parliament (when sitting) were invested with the supreme command of the forces by sea and land; and, when not sitting, the Lord Protector and the majority of his council were to exercise this authority. He was invested also with the power of "negotiating with foreign kings, powers, and states," and with the power of "either making war or peace." The provisions for the new parliament, and its meeting or dissolution, were also detailed by this Instrument, under which most of the rotten boroughs were dis-

franchised, and the number of county members increased; while some of the larger towns were added to the representation. Laws could not be made, nor taxes levied, except by parliamentary legislation. The civil list was fixed at 200,000*l.* Twenty thousand infantry and 10,000 cavalry were provided for as the maximum strength of the army, except by the consent of the parliament; but the Lord Protector was allowed to increase the naval forces to any extent he might judge necessary. Toleration and protection were offered to all those who professed faith in God through Christ Jesus, provided this liberty "would not be extended to popery or prelacy; nor to such as under the professions of Christ hold forth and practise licentiousness." It was also declared that the office of Lord Protector should be "elective," and "not hereditary."*

Invested with these powers, and there being no parliament sitting, Cromwell entrusted the chief commands in the army to those tried officers in whom he could repose the most unreserved confidence. The depôts of the troops were fixed in places where they could be rendered the most readily available for the suppression of tumults and insurrections.

In the city of London, where civic feasts and royalty, from ancient times, were familiarly connected; and where the citizens have generally been gratified with the visits of their sovereigns, and the splendour of royalty, Cromwell was looked upon as little less than a king; and he was entertained accordingly by the civic authorities. After his pro-

* See full details of this Instrument in the Appendix.

clamation by the sound of trumpet in the metropolis and in all parts of the kingdom, addresses came pouring in from congregations, from the corporation of London, and from almost every town in England, congratulating him on his elevation, and expressive of general attachment and submission to the person and authority of the Lord Protector.

On the 8th of February, after his inauguration, we are informed that "his Highness, very nobly attended by his council and officers of the army, his life-guards, and many persons of honour, was met by the lord mayor and aldermen, his brethren, at Temple Bar, where, his Highness alighting out of his coach, took horse. Here the recorder addressed the Lord Protector, making an elegant speech, and presenting the sense and duty of the City. On this occasion the streets were railed on each side all along, from the Temple to Grocers' Hall, in order to clear the way for the procession of the Lord Protector; and between those rails and the houses seats were elevated for a multitude of spectators. On entering the hall, the recorder, in a brief speech, expressed the happiness of the city in the enjoyment of the presence of his Highness; after which the Lord Protector retired for a short time to a room above stairs, and then came down and sat at the middle of the long table in the great hall with his son, the Lord Henry, on the right, and the lord mayor on his left; and on each side there sat distributed the council of state, General Monk, Major-General Whalley, and Mr. Claypole, master of the horse to his highness. Here the Lord Protector was entertained, "besides plentiful cheer," with "music,

voices, drums, and trumpets." After this his highness was conducted up-stairs again by my lord mayor to a noble banquet. This being done, his Highness departed, being played out by "hautboys and other loud music."*

The attentions paid to Cromwell, and the servility of the authorities and of all classes on this occasion, might well have inspired him with the ambition to possess the title as well as the power of a king. This, perhaps, was as reasonable as it was natural. He could easily reconcile the love and principles of liberty with the traditions and affections of the people of England for royalty. For that liberty he had fought with, or for them, for many years. The temper, partialities, and convictions of the nation were, on many great principles, fixed; the love of order, obedience to the laws, benevolence, a religious disposition, and patriotism, prevailed among all ranks, with the exception of those who were remarkable for their profligacy among the Royalists. Cromwell now naturally considered that, although not born a prince, although *but one of the people*, that his abilities and successes had, at least, enabled him to become, *nominally, the choice of the people;* and he calculated that if *he could*, by wise institutions, and by directing the high moral and physical qualities of *this people* in the paths of wisdom, improvement, and prosperity, *he would* render England more illustrious in history than ancient Rome. He believed, with truth, that the great majority of the

* Mercurius Politicus, No. 191. In a reference to this feast, Evelyn remarks: "In contradiction to all costome and decency, the Usurper Cromwell feasted at the Lord Maiors, riding in triumph through the Citty."—Diary, ii., pp. 67-68. Edition of 1827.

people of England desired a king. He may have probably considered himself *a king in reality*, and that there only remained the crown to render him a king in name; but he deceived himself if he, as is probable, imagined himself to be the king whom the people of England desired.

But laying aside his ambition, and the dissimulation which he may have practised for the advancement of his own designs, from the time that he acquired power as Lord General of the Army, we can scarcely discover in his conduct or policy any act which was not directed to maintain and promote the impartial and just administration of the laws,—the freedom of religious worship,—the tranquillity, the security, the prosperity, and the aggrandisement of England, Scotland, and Ireland. Institutions of education, wise laws, religious toleration, domestic and public virtue,—the purity of the judges,—the encouragement of learning and science, are all admitted to have been with him leading principles of policy and justice; and, as far as lay in his power, they were carried out and enforced.

But his position in the height of his power was equivocal and difficult; and his perplexities were in no small degree increased by the stern inflexibility of the more rigid and visionary Republicans. Among whom were Sir Harry Vane, whose plan was that of a perfect Republic, in which "every citizen should be his own king," or, in other words, that no Englishman should have a master. But this theory of a constitution, although a grand and a beautiful idea in speculative philosophy, will ever remain as it has hitherto been—an impossibility: for in all govern-

ments there must be, for the maintenance of order and the enforcement of the laws, a chief executive authority for the time being; and however limited such a power may be, it must be sufficiently strong to prevent any dangerous encroachment either upon civil or religious liberty, and to preserve the safety of life and property. Sir Harry Vane's theory, "that every citizen should be his own king," would require each citizen either to be a tyrant over his own sentiments and reason, or that all citizens were to become mere organic machines,—every one of which would, to act harmoniously, require to possess exactly the same knowledge, and to be constituted precisely of the same moral and physical temperaments, passions, intellect, bodily form, dimensions, and mechanism. Providence has not so formed, or so intended, either the body or the soul of man.

It is evident that Oliver Cromwell, even if he had been crowned, would not have demanded the powers of a king without full constitutional limitations to his prerogatives. His remembrance of the past—of Charles I.,—his wonderful sagacity as to the effects of present circumstances and acts on future events,—would have tempered his ambition with prudence and wisdom. So it proved, when he now, in fact, exercised sovereign power.

He acted as if all the offices which existed under the Commonwealth had become vacant by the retirement of the recent government. A few days before the meeting of the first law term, he appointed Rolle chief justice of the upper, and Aitken a puisne judge of the common bench; and of the

latter, St. John, on the very day on which the courts met, was by patent appointed chief justice. Thorpe was, in a similar way, appointed baron of the exchequer, with the other judges, Matthew Hale, Aske, and Robert Nicholas. The judicial appointments of Cromwell ought alone to immortalise him. Among the great and good men whom he selected for the bench, were Rolle, Glynne, St. John, Aitken, Aske, Newdegate, Thorpe, Richard Pepys, Nicholas, William Connyers, Hale, and Hugh Windham. Steele, the recorder, Maynard, Fletcher, and Twisdale were also promoted. In Hale the Protector knew he would find a judge, who, following the example of Sir Edward Coke, would decide impartially, without any reference whatever to the policy of the chief magistrate.

It was first contended that the president of the council should sit only for one month, and that the other members should sit accordingly in rotation, but Colonel Henry Lawrence, the first nominated, was, at the expiration of the month, re-elected to retain his seat as president till further orders, and, we may add, to be continued in that capacity during the life of Cromwell. Thurloe, usually styled the secretary of state, was the secretary of this council; Walter, first secretary of the Commonwealth, was appointed treasurer for the contingencies of the council, and Philip Meadows secretary for the Latin tongue; while the office filled by Milton, whose name still remained on the order-book, was not specified.

This council consisted, first, of the lord chancellor, lord keeper, or commissioners of the great seal for the

time being, of seven members appointed by parliament, and of six retained by Cromwell. The majority of the council, with the consent of the Lord Protector, was authorised, while parliament was not sitting, to suspend any of their number, until the charges against him were proved or disproved; but the Lord Protector, with the advice of the council, might increase their number to twenty-one; while, in the event of removal by death or otherwise, six candidates were proposed by the parliament, out of which the council were empowered to select two, of which the Lord Protector was to elect one. The council, therefore, with these limitations only as to their appointment, formed, in fact, an estate of government with very important executive and legislative functions. During the vacation of parliament, the Lord Protector could not, in matters of importance, take any decisive step without committing a breach of the constitution of government, unless with the concurrence of this council.

The government of a single person and the parliament was therefore, in a great degree, a fiction; for the Lord Protector and his council consisted in reality of a regal and aristocratical power. The members of the Protector's first council were John Lambert, Philip, Lord Lisle, Henry Lawrence, Charles Fleetwood, Edward Montagu, John Desborough, Walter Strickland, Sir Gilbert Pickering, Sir Charles Wolsley, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, William Sydenham, Philip Jones, Richard Major, Francis Rous, and Philip Skippon; to whom were added, during the year, Humphrey Mackworth, Nathaniel Fiennes,

and Edward Sheffield, Earl of Mulgrave. Each of the councillors had a salary of 1000*l.* a year. They were far from being mean persons.

Lambert was born of good family; but he owed his distinction and rank entirely to his military exploits. He for a long period continued a steady supporter of Cromwell; but latterly he opposed his sovereign authority, and, in consequence, lost his post and emoluments.

Henry Lawrence was a private country gentleman, who first represented the county of Hereford, and afterwards the county of Caernarvon, in parliament.

Charles Fleetwood belonged to an ancient Lancashire family, so generally distinguished for their loyalty, that many were surprised that Charles should have become a Republican. He succeeded his uncle, Miles Fleetwood, as receiver of the court of wards; but when he found the constitution threatened by the king, he disdained to receive fees from the court, or to enjoy any place of emolument. He was bred at the inns of court, where the gentlemen of the law were, at that time, all trained to military exercises. He became a trooper under Lord Essex, and afterwards obtained the rank of a colonel of foot; was appointed governor of Bristol after its reduction by the parliamentary forces, and returned M.P. for Buckinghamshire. He gave no countenance to the death of Charles I., but greatly distinguished himself at the battle of Worcester. On the death of Ireton, Fleetwood married his widow, Cromwell's daughter; after which he became commander-in-chief of all the forces in Ireland, where he persuaded the council to pro-

claim his father-in-law Lord Protector. But he afterwards joined Desborough and others, who were opposed to Cromwell taking the title of king.

Desborough was of a genteel family, of moderate means, from whom he inherited a small estate worth 70*l.* a year. Having only this limited income, he was first bred an attorney, but entered the army at the commencement of the civil war, and by a gallant feat at Woodstock, obtained the rank of colonel of dragoons, and, before the death of the king, he was made major-general. He refused to sit on the king's trial. After the battle of Worcester, he became a councillor of state; and although he was a thorough and rough Republican, he was not so squeamish as to refuse places of honour and profit.

Philip, Viscount Lisle, was the son of Sidney, Earl of Leicester, and consequently brother of Algernon Sidney.

Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper had enjoyed the confidence of Charles I., whom he betrayed; nor did he prove faithful either to the Commonwealth or to the Lord Protector.* He was a man of great natural and acquired abilities.

Sir Charles Wolsley was the eldest son of a baronet created in the reign of Charles I. He was a strenuous supporter of Cromwell while Lord General, and aided essentially in dissolving the Long Parliament.

Walter Strickland was a member of the Long Parliament, and was sent by the two houses as their agent to Holland, where he married a Dutch lady of

* This councillor will afterwards appear as the profligate Earl of Shaftesbury, and minister of Charles II.

English extraction. He for several years represented the East Riding of Yorkshire, but his capacity and abilities for business were moderate. Lord Clare calls him "an obscure gentleman."

Major-General Skippon was of obscure descent, and rose entirely by his own merit and bravery.

Philip Jones was a Monmouthshire gentleman, and probably related to Jones who married the Lord Protector's sister. He became a colonel in the parliamentary army, and was the sole member for his own county.

Sir Gilbert Pickering was of an old family in the county of Northampton, and member for that shire in the reign of Charles I. He held a colonel's commission in the parliamentary army, and distinguished himself in the storming of Bristol and Basinghouse. He sat for two days on the king's trial, but afterwards declined attending. He was zealous and faithful to the interests of Cromwell.

William Sydenham was of good family, and member for Lynne Regis in the Long Parliament. He held the rank of colonel in the army, and distinguished himself on several occasions during the war.

Francis Rous was descended from an ancient Devonshire family, and studied and took degrees in the law. He was returned for Truro in the first parliament of Charles I., and afterwards became the representative of his native county. He was a most fervent supporter of the Lord Protector, and one of the most active members in bringing about the dissolution of the Little Parliament.

Nathaniel Fiennes was the second son of Lord Saye and Sele, and educated at Oxford. During

his travels in Switzerland, and his residence at Geneva, he acquired democratical ideas, which led him afterwards to oppose the monarchy and the episcopacy; and in the Long Parliament he was considered, both in regard to abilities and eloquence, only second to Hampden. He held a colonel's commission in 1642; but on the surrender of Bristol, he was charged with incapacity and cowardice, which so affected him, that he demanded a trial by court-martial, by which, to the astonishment of all, he was condemned to lose his head. It was with great difficulty that his powerful friends obtained a pardon from Fairfax. Fiennes then left the kingdom, but afterwards returning, he regained the confidence both of the army and the parliament. He represented the county, and afterwards the University of Oxford during the Protectorate.

Edmund, Earl of Mulgrave, had early resisted the royal prerogative, and throughout remained a steady supporter of the parliament and the Commonwealth.

Richard Major was the eldest son of a mayor and alderman of Southampton, and sat first as member for Sylton, in Dorsetshire. He was a man of considerable abilities and fortune, and became the father-in-law of Richard Cromwell, who married his daughter.

Edward Montagu had risen to his rank and celebrity by valour and ability in the parliamentary army, and was afterwards created Earl of Sandwich.

With the Instrument of Government, and this council, the Lord Protector, probably at this period, thought that he might administer the government

of three kingdoms, without much danger or difficulty, either from the intrigues of the Royalists, the open and stern opposition of the Republicans, or his implacable enemies, the Presbyterians; and that he felt proud of his position, notwithstanding his repeated declarations that he would rather have taken the staff of a shepherd than have accepted the dignity of Lord Protector; that the office was imposed on him by the necessities of the nation; that his sole inducement to accept it was to preserve the country from anarchy, bloodshed, and ruin; that the honour was a "burden," which he bore with reluctance, and which he would resign with happiness whenever the internal tranquillity of the country and the administration of the laws and government were secured. The Republicans, however, declared that they had discovered the hypocrisy by which they had been frequently duped, and denounced him in their open discourse as a "dissembling, perjured villain," "deserving a worse fate than had befallen the last tyrant." These were his most dangerous enemies. They were honest Republicans and religious zealots. To act against them with severity might have roused the anger of the army, and the greater number of those who had previously supported the Commonwealth government.

But Cromwell proceeded with caution and prudence in the endeavour to deprive them of their power. He removed some of the most dangerous of the military officers; he dismissed some of the most violent ministers from the Church, and com-

pelled others to give security for their good behaviour. There were, however, some who were not to be gained by persuasion, nor silenced by his authority. Colonel Harrison was his most bitter enemy. The Anabaptist preachers, Feakes, Powell, and Symson, attacked him in rancorous and vehement sermons and speeches. He arrested both Harrison and those preachers, and confined them in the Tower.*

Whether Charles II., at Paris, encouraged any of his adherents to assassinate Cromwell, is not proved; but it is probable that those who had assassinated one ambassador of the Commonwealth at Madrid, and another at the Hague, would not have scrupled to have taken the life of Oliver Cromwell, either by assassination or any other means, so that they could deprive England of the only man who was considered able to administer a government of sufficient strength to prevent the restoration of the Stuarts.

* Thurloe, vol. i., pp. 1641, 42; vol. ii., pp. 67, 68; Whitelock, pp. 582, 596; Ludlow, vol. ii., p. 47.

We must admit that the violence and intolerance of those preachers rendered them not Christians but incendiaries. War and rapine—not mercy and grace—were their several subjects of vehemence in their preaching. The war against the Dutch was daily recommended in savage exhortations, urging that God had destined Holland as the place of assembling the saints for the purpose of dragging the scarlet adultress of Babylon from the pontifical throne, in order to establish the kingdom of Christ in the world. Finding that Cromwell did not entertain those views with regard to the United Provinces, they designated him in his turn the "man of sin," the "old dragon," and "the beast" of the Revelations. Thurloe (p. 442 to 521) informs us that one of the Dutch ambassadors, Bevernink, who went from curiosity to hear one of those lectures, wrote to his government that their "spirit and intention is to preach down government, and stir up the people against the united Netherlands. Being one day in the assembly of the saints, I heard one prayer, two sermons; but good God! what cruel and abominable and most horrid trumpets of fire, murder, and flame."

Rumour, however, was active in promulgating accounts of some plot or conspiracy to sustain the public excitement and fears. Henshaw, a disappointed Royalist, after returning from Paris, related that a conspiracy was set on foot by the adherents of the Stuarts, — which proposed to assassinate Cromwell on his way to Hampton Court,—to surprise the city,—and, after destroying the guards at Whitehall, to proclaim Charles II. in the metropolis and other parts of the kingdom. Three or four persons, who were said to be implicated, were put to death: although it is probable the existence of the plot was a mere fabrication, as the evidence on which they were convicted may be deemed false.* The constitutional mode of trial by jury was dispensed with on this occasion, and the prisoners were arraigned before a special high court of justice. One of them, Gerard, was convicted partly on the evidence of his own brother, a lad of nineteen years of age. On the scaffold he boldly declared that he was a Royalist, expressed his disdain of such an expedient as assassination, and denied all knowledge of the conspiracy.† The conduct of Glynn, a flexible courtier during this trial, was highly discreditable.

* According to Thurloe (vol. ii., pp. 64 to 71), it would appear that there was a committee of Royalists in London named the "Sealed Knot," but the members of which could never be discovered. He also adds, that Cromwell never gave credit to the plots which were alleged to be planned to take his life. Clarendon, in writing to Mr. Secretary Nicholas, expresses his disbelief in any such design, but attributes the various rumours on this point to "many wild and foolish persons, who proposed wild things to the king," which, although "civilly discountenanced" by him, did not prevent those "persons" and their "friends" from "bragging of what they heard and what they could do;" and adds, that in all probability the matters "talked so much of at London, were as little known to the king as they were to Mr. Secretary Nicholas."—*Clarendon Papers*, vol. iii., p. 247.

† Gerard also said that he forgave his brother, who, being young, was frightened into what he did.

On the same day that this unfortunate man suffered, a real criminal expiated on the scaffold the crime of committing a brutal murder. This criminal was Don Pantaleon Sa, brother of the Portuguese ambassador. The New Exchange, which was then situated in the Strand, was a place of frequent resort. Here Pantaleon had quarrelled with Gerard, and would have fought a duel with him on the spot, but was prevented by the intervention of those present. He, however, returned on the following morning with a number of armed followers, and, in mistake for Gerard, murdered a gentleman of the name of Greenway, who happened to be at the Exchange.* He fled to his brother's house under the impression that he would there be protected on privilege; but the murder was no sooner made public, than the people made the quarrel a popular one, and clamoured for the punishment of the murderer. It appears that Pantaleon was, in the event of his brother's absence, invested with diplomatic powers from the King of Portugal; and it was therefore pleaded on his behalf that, as an ambassador, he was answerable to no one but his master; and that, from his connexion with the embassy, he was covered by the privilege of his chief. These pretences were, however, overruled, and he was brought to trial on the 5th of July, 1654. He was found guilty, and sentenced to be executed with four of his accomplices. Three of the latter were pardoned; but no effort of the Portuguese ambassador could induce Oliver Cromwell to pardon the

* Whitelock; Clarendon, vol. iii., p. 493.

principal criminal, and he was executed on the afternoon of the very day on which the ambassador found it necessary to sign a definitive treaty between Portugal and the Lord Protector.*

In Scotland and in Ireland, Cromwell was now generally considered—but especially by the military—an usurper. Monk had left Scotland in order to take command of the Channel fleet; and the opportunity was eagerly seized upon by the partisans of Charles, to plot secretly against the Commonwealth. In November, 1653, the Earls of Balcarras and Glencairn were joined by Angus, Athol, Kenmure, Lorn (the son of Argyll), and Montrose. In the mean time an adventurous officer named Wogan, who crossed from France to Dover, secretly levied a troop of loyalists in London, and, carrying the ensigns of the Commonwealth on his march, reached Scotland without molestation. It was even surmised that Charles himself, with a considerable force, would soon land in Scotland, in the anticipation of which, the Royalists of that kingdom were embodied to the number of several thousands. But discord and personal feuds distracted the Scottish chiefs, and, while Glencairn insisted upon a right to the chief command, another general, Middleton, arrived with the royal commission and authority from Charles to assume the command of all the forces.

While these personal disputes divided the Scottish leaders, Robert Lilburne, who commanded the English forces, laid waste the lands of the Royalists, showing no forbearance to any who were supposed

* See State Trials, vol. v., p. 641 to 518, 536; Somers' Tracts, iii., p. 65, and v., p. 482; Whitelock, pp. 569, 595.

to be preparing to take the field against the Commonwealth. The Royalists, on the other hand, despoiled the lands of all "neutrals." This destructive war caused great calamity; and the marches and countermarches of Middleton through a mountainous country, procrastinated the civil war, notwithstanding the skilful and energetic efforts of Monk, who was sent back to Scotland by the Lord Protector, to avert the threatening crisis. Middleton, however, was at length intercepted by Morgan, who commanded a division of the English forces; his whole troops were slain or captured, and the Royalists, seeing no other hope, speedily submitted to the government of the Lord Protector. The example was first set by the Earls of Balcarras and Glencairn; Kenmure, Athole, Seaforth, and others followed.*

This renewal of civil war in Scotland, although of short duration, was exceedingly harassing to the English. The moss troopers of the Royalists were well acquainted with all the fastnesses of the country. In the moors and mosses they defied the English cavalry, who, in such dangerous places, were always overwhelmed.†

The lenity of Monk, after subduing or destroying the power of the Scottish nobility and their followers, was remarkable and praiseworthy; but this lenity appears to have been not so congenial to the

* See Treaty of Ratification, August 24th, 1654; Council Book, February 7th, 1655; Skinner's Life of Monk; Thurloe; Bailey, vol. ii., p. 377.

† Those troopers had long been in the practice of seizing or stealing the best horses, and sending them off to the hills until they were required for hostile purposes. With these horses, and knowing every path and firm spot over the turf bogs, they acquired the name of Moss Troopers.

temper of that general as to the natural humanity of the Lord Protector.

Cromwell was at this time also embarrassed by the conduct of certain officers in the army in Ireland, who adhered to the religious creed and political sentiments of the Anabaptists, and especially in the case of Overton, Okey, and Alured. Alured had been sent to Ireland, but a subsequent order directed that he should be sent to London, and Fleetwood was requested to appoint another trusty officer to conduct his forces from Carrickfergus to Port Patrick in Scotland.* The regiments of Harrison, Okey, and Pride, were considered Republican and disaffected; and, while the regiment of the latter was ordered into Scotland, their colonel was directed to remain in England.

In Ireland, Ludlow and Jones, who were both sturdy Republicans, now regarded the Lord Protector as a hypocrite, apostate, and usurper; while, in most of the garrisons, the principal officers manifested their open disaffection. The Lord Protector, however, in consequence of information received from his son, gradually withdrew the most obnoxious officers from that kingdom to England; the effect of which was, a rapid diminution of the number of officers who attended the Anabaptist Conventicle at Dublin; those officers who ceased to attend, excused themselves by saying that "the ambition of a single person" (meaning the Protector) "could not obstruct the designs of the Lord," and

* Thurloe, vol. ii., pp. 285, 294, 313.

that they "therefore considered it wiser to retain office under a new government than by desertion to lose the means of serving the Lord, and of hastening the reign of Christ upon earth!"* Personal interest therefore overcame in Ireland the scruples of the Anabaptists, and the Lord Protector, represented by his deputy and his generals, ruled efficiently and tranquilly over the island as a component portion of the British Empire.

With respect to Scotland, he published on the 12th of April, 1654, three ordinances by which he incorporated that ancient kingdom under the supreme government of the empire, and by those acts he subverted, without any resistance on the part of the Scotch, the constitution of their government, and established a new government of which Lord Broghil was president. Of the seven judges whom he appointed for the administration of the laws of England, in Scotland, four were English lawyers. He established justices of peace, and he decreed that all the natives of Scotland were relieved from their allegiance to Charles II.; that the Scottish parliament was abolished; and that there should be no more than one legislature for England, Scotland, and Ireland. It would have been fortunate for the three kingdoms if those principles of government had never been abandoned; and if the representations of the people in parliament had been progressively reformed even to a greater extent, in justice to the tax-payers, than has been done by the imperial act of 1832. Justices of the peace were also

* Thurloe, vol. ii., pp. 149, 214.

instituted in Scotland by the Lord Protector; and in that kingdom the administration of the laws and the tranquillity of the country have not been in so satisfactory and secure a condition from the day of the restoration of the Stuarts until nearly a century after the union of the two kingdoms.

CHAPTER III.

THE GOVERNMENT OF OLIVER CROMWELL AND FOREIGN POWERS—WAR WITH HOLLAND CONTINUED—NEGOTIATIONS FOR PEACE—TREATY OF PEACE, AND SECRET TREATY WITH HOLLAND.

FROM the death of James I. to the execution of Charles I. the political affairs of Great Britain were nearly altogether unconnected with those of every other state in Europe. But from the time that Oliver Cromwell became the commander-in-chief of the parliamentary armies in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and after the fame which he had acquired by his victories, especially those of Ireland, Dunbar, and Worcester, he was considered far more formidable by the princes of Europe, than any king who had reigned in England since the dynasty of the Plantagenets. Charles I. took no part in the wars of religion which devastated the continent during his reign,—nor in those celebrated negotiations which, during the last five years of his life, had been carried forward in Westphalia, in order to balance the power of European states; but, instead, he endeavoured to render his own authority independent of foreign alliances; and, especially to acquire an absolute authority over the liberties and

religion of his subjects. Too feeble to execute his arbitrary designs, he was, as we have related, too obstinate to withdraw from the perilous attempt; and Voltaire actually observes "that the civil war which commenced during the minority of Louis XIV., prevented England for the time from entering into the affairs of her neighbours. She lost her *consideration* with her happiness; her commerce was interrupted; and other nations believed that she was buried under her ruins, until the time, when she became suddenly more formidable than ever under the domination of Cromwell: who subjected her with the evangelists in the one hand, with the sword in the other, and the mask of religion on his visage; but who, in his government, with the qualities of a great king, obscured the crimes of a bold usurper."

The naval victories of the fleets of the Long Parliament astonished and overawed the sovereigns of the maritime states of Christendom. Now that Cromwell was invested with the sovereignty of a great empire, as Lord Protector, he not only rose in the estimation of crowned heads, but the kings of Europe courted his alliance while they dreaded his abilities, his ambition, and his power; and ambassadors, offering the congratulations of their sovereigns, hastened from the courts of royalty to the palace of the Lord Protector.

Instead of living with his family in the modest apartments of the Cockpit, he removed to Whitehall, which was newly and magnificently furnished, and its saloons adorned with superb hangings and with the richest style of ornament. He received foreign ambassadors in the banqueting-room, in which

was elevated, above three steps, the chair, or rather the throne, of state. The ceremonial of his court was adjusted nearly according to the same forms as those of France and the German Empire. He stood near the throne, and, as the ambassadors entered, each made a reverence, first, at the entrance, secondly, midway up the hall, and thirdly, at the lower step of the *dais*. At each reverence the Lord Protector slightly bowed. Each ambassador delivered his address of congratulation, to which Cromwell replied with dignity, and the ambassador retired, repeating the ceremonial of three reverences. When the ambassadors dined with him at Whitehall, he sat alone on one side of the table, while they, with the lords of the council, sat on the other. The ladies were entertained at a separate table, by the Lady Protectress. They all assembled afterwards in the drawing-rooms. A psalm was sung, a copy of which Cromwell presented to the ambassadors, and then pieces of music were performed, after which the assemblage walked for some time in the gallery, and then retired from the palace.*

Cromwell resolved to bring the Dutch to terms of political as well as armed pacification, and he was soon favoured by a great victory which was gained over their fleet by Monk, Deane, Penn, and Lawson. The forces were nearly equal; each numbering about 100 ships. De Ruyter, De Witt, and Evertsen, commanded the Dutch, and on the 2nd of

* Thurloe, pp. 50, 257; Clarendon Papers, iii., p. 240; *Cromwelliana*. It is related that when Cromwell gave a copy of the psalm which was to be sung to the Dutch ambassador, he remarked that it was the most valuable paper that had yet passed between them. According to the Council Book, the household expenditure of the Lord Protector amounted to about 140,000*l*. a year. March, 1655.

June, 1653, after Van Tromp had battered the town of Dover, while Monk was scouring the coast of Holland, both fleets met off the North Foreland. Admiral Deane was killed by a chain-shot close by the side of Monk, who, to conceal his death, covered over the body with his cloak.

The Dutch in this first action lost two ships; and the English fleet having received an accession of eighteen ships of war under Blake during the same night, the battle was re-commenced on the following morning. Van Tromp fought with desperate bravery; but his orders were not followed up with similar gallantry by his captains, several of whom fled from the action. During the night the Dutch fleet retired and sought a refuge on the shallows of the coast of Zealand, after the English had captured thirteen of their large ships, besides six sunk and two blown up; 1850 seamen and soldiers were taken prisoners, exclusive of those killed during the action.*

According to Thurloe, the fleet under Monk fought at half-cannon shot distance, until the Dutch ships were thrown into confusion, and disabled, when they were instantly surrounded and captured by the English frigates.

Cromwell rejoiced greatly on receiving intelligence of this victory, which he regarded as a signal act of mercy, and called upon the people to return thanks to Almighty God for the favour so specially vouchsafed to them. But it was the very government which he had overturned, that had fitted and pro-

* Thurloe, vol. i, p. 269 to 278; Le Clerc, tom. ii., p. 333; Heath, pp. 334-35; Basnage, i., p. 103; Gombald's Life of Monk, p. 50.

vided for the equipment of the fleet which had gained this triumphant victory.

The defeat of the Dutch fleet was severely felt as a naval degradation by the States-General, at a period when, only five years after the peace of Westphalia, Holland came to be acknowledged as an independent sovereign state. The humiliation of the United Provinces was manifested to all Europe, in the discomfiture of its formidable fleet by a naval power which had only recently been created by a new republican government. Great discontents also prevailed among the merchants of Holland, who had previously urged the States-General to appoint ambassadors to arrange a peace with the Commonwealth of England; but the intrigues of the Orange faction prevented the departure of those ministers until after the decisive victory which had been gained by the English fleet. The Dutch government now required no further inducement to negotiate with England; and accordingly, four ambassadors were at once sent to the court of Oliver Cromwell. They were received by the Lord Protector and council, on the 22nd of June; but he gave an absolute refusal to their proposal for a cessation of hostilities during the period which might be occupied in negotiating the treaty. He also demanded indemnification for past losses, and securities for all future engagements. He deplored the great calamities occasioned by the war, but he complained of the Dutch, and especially of Van Tromp, being the first aggressor; and, as an admission of the charge made against this gallant

* Whitelock, p. 558.

admiral, he required his removal from the command of the fleet; while finally, he proposed that the States of Holland and those of the Commonwealth should form one government, consisting of persons chosen or elected from the two Republics.

After the battle off the North Foreland, Monk had continued for eight weeks blockading the entrance of the Texel, while Van Tromp in the mean time refitted his fleet, and restored to the Dutch the chance of once more being able to retrieve their maritime glory.*

On the 31st of July, Van Tromp, with a fleet of about one hundred vessels, approached that of General Monk, consisting of about the same number of ships of war. A battle ensued. Monk had resolved on this occasion to change his tactics. He found by experience of former actions that securing the ships of the enemy not only occasioned a great loss of time, at the most precious period of the battle, but that their retention required too many of the crews of his fleet, who would otherwise be engaged directly in the fight. He therefore gave orders that no English ship should yield to the enemy,—that no surrender of a Dutch ship should be accepted, — and that, to the utmost of their power, each captain should sink and destroy the ships of the enemy. On the first day the battle closed without any decisive result. On the following day, being near the coast of Holland, and the sea running high, the fleets were unable to come into action; but on Sunday, the 31st, the fight was

* Clarendon; Thurloe, vol. i., pp. 301-316; Order Book. See also Original Proceedings in Thurloe, vol. i., pp. 268-401.

renewed, and De Witt, with his squadron, joined the main fleet, at a time when four of the largest of the English ships were nearly exposed to destruction by the fire-ships of the Dutch. Monk had brought several merchant ships into this action, but finding that the captains, when they commanded their own ships, fought with extreme caution, in order to save their freights for the owners, he transferred such English captains from their own ships to others. Those mercantile seamen then fought with extraordinary bravery, and six of them, and 500 sailors were killed, and six others, and 800 seamen, were wounded. Van Tromp was killed early in the action of the 31st of July by a musket-shot, and the battle was afterwards fatal to the Dutch, who lost about thirty ships, burnt or sunk, and also their gallant vice-admiral, and Evertsen. The English fleet, according to Monk's orders, captured none of the Dutch, but about 1200 seamen, who had escaped in their boats, or who had been picked up in the sea by the English, were made prisoners.

This was the last sea-fight during the life of Cromwell between the English and the Dutch. To the latter it proved a commercial, as well as political calamity, and this fatal war was occasioned altogether by the unfortunate and indiscreet attachment of the house of Orange for the house of Stuart, and the folly of the States-General as a faction against the interests of all the provincial states, and the commerce and navigation of Holland.*

* Le Clerc, vol. i., p. 335; Basinage, vol. i., p. 313; Several Proceedings, p. 197; Thurloe, vol. i., pp. 392, 420, 448; Perfect Diurnal, 187; Heath, pp. 347, 348.

As there were no Dutch ships taken by the English, it was given out at Holland that nine only of Van Tromp's fleet were destroyed. But, exclusive of the great number who must have been killed in the action, or drowned in the sea, an immense number of prisoners were brought to England. Various rumours were circulated as to the number of ships destroyed by Monk. That the war was calamitous to the Dutch, is evident from the communications made to their courts by neutral ambassadors. The Venetian ambassador in Holland during this period relates that the Dutch government acknowledged a loss of 1122 fighting ships and merchant vessels during this war, the expenses of which exceeded that of the twenty-two years war which they had fought against Spain in struggling for their independence. There could also be no doubt that the great number of prizes made by the English at an early period of hostilities greatly weakened the maritime resources, the trade, and navigation of Holland. Sagredo ascribes the English victories to their ships being of greater strength and size, and their cannon being of brass, and of larger calibre; and in some degree to the want of unanimity in the councils of the Dutch.*

The States-General were now anxious to conclude a treaty with England on terms which they would not at any former period have accepted. An old

* Among the records in the library still at Venice there are numerous MSS. and documents which afford much information with regard to this war, and generally with respect to the affairs of England during the Commonwealth, Protectorate, and dynasty of the Stuarts. The *Relazione* in MS. of Sagredo, the Venetian ambassador at Amsterdam, is clear and impartial, and contains several important statements made to his government.

grievance, of which the English justly complained, had long hung over the Dutch. It was the cruelties practised on English subjects, and the destruction of their property on the island of Amboyna, as early as the year 1622. Disputes attended with fatal encounters had frequently occurred between the Dutch and English companies in the seas and islands of the East. By a treaty signed on the 16th of July, 1619, and ratified by James I., it was expected that the arrangements and stipulations which had then been entered upon with the view of securing harmony between the merchant ships of both nations in those distant regions would there avail, although war might at the same time exist between England and Holland in Europe. But the treaty was disregarded by the Governor of the East India Company, who with a large fleet of ships attacked the English factory at Lantore, carrying off the manufactures, money, and bullion in their warehouses, together with 2300 lbs. of mace and 15,000 lbs. of nutmegs; and, under pretence of priority of right to that and to other islands, the English factors, with their clerks and servants, were stripped naked, bound together, and, being severely flogged, were cast outside of the factory walls, and dragged in chains through the streets. At Poolaroon, the English factories were subjected to similar ignominious and cruel treatment. The Dutch had then resolved to drive the English altogether out of the spice trade.

In the island of Amboyna, which was celebrated for its cloves, the English had established five factories. The town of Amboyna was the chief of all the other English factories. The Dutch also esta-

blished factories at Amboyna, and for two years the two companies, by virtue of a treaty, traded together. Disputes, however, arose with regard to the contingents which each were to contribute towards maintaining the defence of the island; and in the month of February, 1622, the Dutch pretended, upon evidence extorted by torture from a Japanese mercenary, that the English had plotted to take the fort. There is scarcely any tragedy more horrible on record than the scenes which ensued. The English governor, Captain Towerson, was accused of conspiring to surprise the fort, and was, with all the English, shackled in iron chains. The charge against them was in itself ridiculous; for the whole number of English did not exceed twenty-three persons. They were subjected to tortures as savage and excruciating as any ever invented by the Spanish Inquisition, or the most barbarous and revengeful of the American savages. Captain Towerson and nine Englishmen, after being horribly tortured, were put to death without any evidence whatsoever, except that which was extorted by the most shocking cruelty. Those who suffered, denied every word that had been extorted from them by the rack, and by other various intolerable tortures.*

All the property of the English was confiscated by the Dutch; nor did James I. or Charles I. ever resent this great national insult. It was not so

* The history of those cruel events seems almost incredible, if they had not been thoroughly proved; and the generally cruel character of the Dutch Republicans in all their trading factories, and even their horrid punishments on board their ships, are collateral proofs of their capability of committing the atrocities at Amboyna.

with the Lord Protector. He resolved, in the negotiations which were resumed in the year 1654, that all the actual complaints of the English against the Dutch aggressions should be examined by commissioners, who were to give in their award within three months; and it was decreed, on the 30th of August, that the spice island of Polyroon, or Poolaroon, should be restored to England; that for the losses at Amboyna, 85,000*l.* should be paid to the English East India Company, and 3600*l.* to several individuals who had endured losses; and that, if any of those who had been concerned in the massacre of Amboyna remained alive, they should be punished. It was stipulated, in a general treaty, that neither Commonwealth should aid or protect the enemies or exiles of the other; that such enemies, rebels, or exiles, should, on a previous notice to the respective governments, be expelled within twenty-eight days, under the penalty of death—from the United Provinces, if demanded by England, and from Great Britain or Ireland, if demanded by the Dutch government. The supremacy of the flag at sea was also yielded to the Lord Protector.*

By a secret article, Cromwell induced the Bevernink and Louvestein factions to stipulate that the young Prince of Orange, or any prince of that family, should never be elected to the stadtholderate, or be appointed to the chief command of the Dutch army or navy. This was a fruitless stipulation, for it eventually favoured the Orange family.† The Prince of Orange at this time was scarcely more

* Dumont, vol. v., part ii., p. 74.
† Le Clerc, vol. i., p. 345; Basnage, 1342; Dumont, 79.

than three years of age. His mother was the daughter of Charles I.; but this child afterwards became King of England.

The secret article was rejected at once by the States-General; but the Dutch ambassadors had engaged, by a written instrument, that it should be acceded to by the provincial states of Holland. In consequence, however, of this arrangement, the treaty, which was finally signed on the 5th of April, 1654, was not ratified by the Dutch government, as the provincial states considered it impolitic to act in opposition to the States-General. But Cromwell was firm. The Dutch ambassadors in London wrote to their government that the maintenance of peace with England rested absolutely on no other security than the approval of this secret article. On the 4th of March, the provincial states voted that it should be accepted; and on the 5th of June, the Dutch government, who endeavoured by delays to evade its ratification, found themselves under the necessity of ratifying this humiliating dictation of Oliver Cromwell.*

A misunderstanding had prevailed between England and Portugal since the year 1651, when the Long Parliament ordered Guimares, the Portuguese ambassador, peremptorily to leave the British dominions in fourteen days.† This arose from the countenance which the King of Portugal afforded to the Princes Eugene and Maurice; but as the court of Lisbon was sensible of the danger of main-

* Résolutions Secrètes des Etats de Hollande pendant le Ministère de Jean de Witt.

† Journals, May and June.

taining a quarrel with the English republic, at a time when Spain seemed determined to recover the dominion which she had lost over Portugal, the Condé del Sa was sent, in the year 1652, with a magnificent retinue, as ambassador to London; and having had an interview, on the 30th of September, with the parliament, negotiations were opened to settle the claims and indemnities demanded by England from Portugal. But a definitive treaty was not ratified till after Cromwell had not only dissolved the Long Parliament, but after the Little Convention had resigned into his hands the supreme executive power of the nation. In the mean time, Condé del Sa had executed a definitive treaty, which was finally ratified on the very morning of the day on which his brother, Don Pantaleon, was executed in the afternoon. An indemnity for the expense of the armament which had been fitted out to chastise the Portuguese for allowing the Princes Rupert and Maurice shelter with the revolted English fleets in the harbour of Lisbon, had been previously paid to the Commonwealth government.* This treaty re-established peace, and re-opened a profitable trade between the two nations.†

To Holland and Portugal, Cromwell dictated his own terms; but with Queen Christina of Sweden, the accomplished daughter of Gustavus Adolphus,

* Clarendon, vol. iii., p. 192, who says that Cromwell forced the Portuguese to pay a great sum of money as an indemnity. It is stated, but not in the treaty, that some 180,000*l.* was the indemnity paid by the King of Portugal.—*St. Pierre's Hist. des Traitez.*

† This treaty, however, did not, like the mischievous and fallacious, yet extolled, Methuen treaty, establish a *preferential* rate of Customs duties in favour of either England or Portugal against the trade of any other country.

he not only acted with gallantry, but he sent Whitelock, one of the most accomplished men of his government, to conclude, at Stockholm, a treaty with that princess, which was ratified shortly after the conclusion of peace with Holland.

Before we enter upon a review of the negotiations of the Lord Protector with France, Spain, and other European states, we may first resume our narrative of the intermediate and passing domestic affairs of Great Britain and Ireland.

CHAPTER IV.

DOMESTIC AFFAIRS.

MEETING OF A NEW AND FREE PARLIAMENT—CEREMONY OF OPENING THE SESSION—VIOLENT DEBATES—SHUTTING OF THE HOUSE BY THE LORD PROTECTOR—RE-OPENED ON THE MEMBERS SIGNING AN INSTRUMENT OF SUBMISSION—DEBATES AND DISSOLUTION.

THE new parliament, which was summoned by the Lord Protector to meet on Sunday, the 3rd of September, 1654, met accordingly in the House of Commons, where about three hundred members assembled.* They had previously heard the afternoon sermon preached at St. Margaret's, Westminster, and from thence they went to the house, led by Lord Bradshaw and Mr. Lenthal, who were each nominated as candidates for the Speaker's chair. They continued for a short time in debate, when a message was received from his Highness, who requested their attendance in the Painted Chamber,† to which about three hundred members immediately repaired. On entering, the Lord Protector rose from his chair of state, saluted them, uncovered, and in a short speech informed them that they were summoned to

* Introduction to Burton's Diary, from the Diary of Guibon Goddard, Esq., M.P., with notes by John Towill Rutt. London, 1828.

† This Painted Chamber is the same room that was lately occupied as the House of Peers. Within its strong walls many historic scenes have been enacted.

meet as the parliament of the three nations on that day; but in regard to the day itself being the Sabbath, little or no business could be done. He desired that a spirit of union might pervade all their proceedings, and that the work of the Lord might be effectually carried on in tranquillity and peace. He would attend them between nine and ten o'clock of the following morning: first at prayers in the Abbey church, and afterwards in the same Painted Chamber; where he would take the opportunity of communicating such things as he considered it desirable they should know. Cromwell then withdrew, and returned in his barge to Whitehall.*

On the morning of the 4th of September, the procession of the Lord Protector to open the parliament in state, was conducted with great ceremony and pomp, from Whitehall to Westminster Abbey; where he had requested the members to meet him to hear the sermon, before proceeding to the Painted Chamber. This procession was at least princely in its magnificence. The Lord Protector was preceded by two or three hundred gentlemen and officers, bareheaded. Then followed the life-guards immediately before his carriage, and his pages and lacqueys in rich and showy liveries. Strickland, who was one of the council, and a captain of the guards, with the master of the ceremonies, both on foot, accompanied the carriage on one

* Faithful Scout, 1654, No. 195, p. 1554; Goddard's Diary, p. 18. "This being the Lord's day, and therefore not to be taken up with any ceremonies, Mr. Gewen, at eight o'clock, rose in his place, and by the general consent of the house pronounced the adjournment."—*Journals.*

side; and Howard, captain of the life-guards, and another officer of the household, on the other. Claypole, master of the horse, immediately followed the carriage. Next in procession followed the commissioners of the great seal and of the treasury, and the members of the council, in their carriages; while the rear was formed by the ordinary guards.

On reaching the door of the Abbey, the officers of the army and the gentlemen on foot entered. They were followed by four maces, then by the commissioners of the great seal,—by Whitelock carrying the treasury purse,—and by Lambert carrying unsheathed the sword of state; after whom the Lord Protector entered, and remained with the members during prayers and the sermon.

The Lord Protector then, with his suite, proceeded to the Painted Chamber, where he formally received the members of the parliament.* He rose from the chair of state, took off his hat, and addressed them in a long and remarkable speech. Such an address as he delivered on this occasion would be unsuitable to any legislative assembly of the present day; but there is no doubt, that both in language and in tone, this address was well adapted to the assemblage to whom he spoke. He first adverted to the state of the country when it became necessary to dissolve the last parliament. The nation was then agitated and endangered by the principles of those "levellers" who would demolish all the rights of property, and by the impracticable and visionary doctrines of the "fifth-monarchy men," who de-

* Whitelock's Memorials, p. 582; Parliamentary History, vol. xx., pp. 322-23 and 333.

nounced any established religion as unchristian and Babylonish, and who would substitute the law of Moses for the ancient and constitutional laws of our ancestors. Again: the Jesuits, who swarmed in Europe and in England, were endeavouring, and to some extent succeeded, in establishing episcopacy, and in perverting the people to the Popish Church. At that time the war with Holland had greatly increased the taxes, and exhausted the revenues of the country; while the *material* or commercial war between England, France, and Portugal, was destructive to English navigation and trade; and in order to obviate those evils, and to relieve the nation, it was indispensably necessary to dissolve the assembly who had sat as a parliament at Whitehall. Since then (he continued), the English fleets had been completely victorious over those of Holland, and a treaty of peace had been ratified with the United Provinces, and also with Denmark and Sweden. A treaty of amity and commerce had also been ratified with Portugal; and a treaty was now in course of negotiation with France. Within the kingdom, the courts of law had been reformed, and the administration of justice committed to men of known ability, integrity, and learning. Many reforms had been effected in the Court of Chancery, by removing suits to the ordinary courts of law. Tranquillity was established in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and great care had been taken in appointing to the ministry men of piety, morality, soberness, and learning. And lastly, the government had now called together a free parliament, in order to put the *top-stone* to the happy work of reform, and to deliberate on measures most

conducive to the prosperity and happiness of the nation. He recommended them to fulfil the task which they owed to the country, by compromising all jealousies and misunderstandings. He remarked that if this parliament did not prove a healing to all existing differences, he could not well tell what was the next most advisable plan to be adopted. He regarded the prospect before them as clear and promising; but they must not look back to the "flesh-pots of Egypt." He did not speak to them as their lord, but as their fellow-servant,—as a labourer with them in the same good cause; and, without detaining them longer, would advise them to return to their own house, and choose a Speaker.

This speech, according to Goddard, contained some gracious expressions, which were received by his audience with general satisfaction.*

The forms of the house which were now observed, were probably the same as those which had been the rules of the house in the Long Parliament, when it first assembled in the reign of Charles I. The members returned from the Painted Chamber to the house.† The Long Parliament had granted a patent to Mr. Scobell to be their clerk during his lifetime; and he and the serjeant of the mace having now

* Parliamentary History, vol. xx., pp. 322–23. Whitelock says: "All being silent, his Highness made a large and subtle speech to them." The French ambassador, Bourdeaux, writing to De Brienne, says: "As often as the Protector spoke of liberty and religion, the members gave vent to acclamations of joy." In the Journals, it is inserted that his Highness "made unto them a large narration of the grounds of their being called together, and let them know of their employment; and then desired them to repair to their house, and exercise their own liberty in choosing their Speaker, that they might also, without loss of time, commence their great business."

† St. Stephen's Chapel, which continued to be the House of Commons until burned down in 1835.

entered the house, they were both ordered to withdraw, and forbidden to enter on any pretence of title, unless they were chosen and commanded by the parliament. Mr. Lenthal, who had been Speaker during the Long Parliament, was nominated, on account of his great experience and knowledge of the rules of the house, and his dexterity in maintaining order; and he was now unanimously called to the chair, to which he was led by two members. Mr. Scobell was then appointed clerk; but he was reprimanded for his presumption in having entered the house before his election, on the ground that the parliament generally disallowed all patent offices. The former serjeant of the mace was also reappointed, and ordered to be introduced to his office as a necessary concomitant of the parliament. Other matters of form were then proposed and agreed to; and an act was read* against the election of officers upon the Sabbath, and against fairs or markets being kept or published on that day. The house then adjourned, and on the following day assembled, when, on the names of all the members being called over, it was found that the defaulters of those who were returned, but were not in attendance, amounted to no more than sixty. The house proceeded to appoint com-

* The introduction of some act or form on the first day of the session has been continued ever since in the House of Commons, in order to assert for parliament its independence of the Crown. It may be added, that as each member entered the house on the first day, he was requested to deliver a certificate, declaring that he was duly elected, and approved by the council. Lord Grey of Groby, Wildman, and Samuel Hyland, one of the members for Southwark, are said to have been rejected; but it seems that Mr. Justice Hyland was at length admitted; that there was no personal objection to the members; and that the refusals of the council were simply grounded on the irregularity of their return.

mittees, and that on privileges was selected first. It was then agreed that the subject of government, or an Instrument of Government, should be speedily taken into consideration, and that an address of thankfulness should be presented to the Lord Protector for his late speech. After a short debate, it was decided that the question of government should be the first business for consideration on the following morning.

It soon appeared, however, that the Lord Protector had not a majority in this *freely elected* parliament. A committee of the whole house was formed, in order to deliberate upon the question whether the government of the kingdom should be vested in a single person and the parliament. The house continued to debate this question for four days successively; and according to the Journals, Ludlow's Memoirs, and other records, Bradshaw, Haselrig, and Scott, were among the most distinguished leaders, for neither Sir Harry Vane, Algernon Sidney, nor Henry Martin, were members. But the house included the whole of the Protector's council, his principal officers, and those connected with his household, with the exception of Lord Lisle. Blake, Richard and Henry Cromwell, Fairfax, the Judges Hale and Thorpe, Glyn and Owen, and the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, were also members of this parliament.*

When it was debated whether an order of coun-

* Ludlow says that "the speeches of Bradshaw, Haselrig, and Scott, were very instrumental in opening the eyes of the young members, who had never before heard the public interest so clearly asserted and stated; so that the Commonwealth party increased every day, and that of the sword continually lost ground."

cil* made by the Lord Protector, and which rendered it high treason for any man to speak against the present government, did not restrain the freedom of speech, it was contended that freedom of speech was the first-born privilege of parliament—its very heart-strings; and that no law or power from without could impeach any member for any syllable spoken within those walls; and that those precedents of Queen Elizabeth's, King James's, and the late king's times, were not legal, and not to be recognised as law. And it was declared that, notwithstanding the ordinance of the Lord Protector and his council, the house was free to debate upon any subject it thought proper; and it was even held, that to question their freedom would be to lose it, or, at least, to weaken it.†

In debating the articles of the Instrument of Government, the Republicans contended that the Lord Protector should not have a negative upon their bills; and that, if he did not consent within twenty-one days, the bills enacted by parliament should have the force of law. The new judge, Hale, in order to reconcile the house and the Protector, proposed that the legislative authority should be vested in a parliament of the people of England and a single person; but that the Lord Protector should, for the present, hold the military power; and that, to prevent the perpetuity of parliament, he should be allowed a co-ordinate power with that assembly. Even Bradshaw, Haselrig, and Scott, seemed inclined

* By another order in council, the engagement to be true and faithful to the Commonwealth of England, as then constituted, without king or House of Lords, was repealed.

† Goddard's Journal, 6th September, 1654.

to acquiesce for some time in the proposition of Judge Hale.* On the following day it was rumoured that the parliament was dissolved, and, on the members going to the house, they found the doors locked and guarded by soldiers. The mace had been taken away by Commissary-General Whalley, and the Speaker and the other members were told that they might go to the Painted Chamber, where they would shortly be received by the Lord Protector. Scotland-yard, the streets and passages leading to the House of Parliament, were lined with soldiers. In the mean time, the members, in groups, walked up and down Westminster Hall, speculating on this extraordinary proceeding,—and some entered the Painted Chamber, where Cromwell had previously summoned the Speaker and the lord mayor to an audience.

About ten o'clock the Lord Protector, surrounded by his chief officers, life-guards, and halberd-men, received the Speaker and members, and addressed them in severe terms from his chair of state. The proceedings of closing the doors of parliament, and taking away the mace, were violent and unconstitutional; but let us keep in view the critical position in which the Lord Protector now stood. "He was made acquainted," says Whitelock, "that the debates in parliament grew high touching the new government, and, entertaining a jealousy that their object was to overthrow it, he sent for the members to meet him in the Painted Chamber. He told them he did expect and hope for better fruit and effect in the parliament than he had yet found,

* Goddard's Journal, p. 25.

and he deplored that there was any necessity in him to magnify his office." "And" says Goddard, "he told us a large series of the providences of God and the suffrages of the people, which were so many witnesses, evidences, seals of his calling to the government; and on account of which he said he put greater value on his title so derived, than upon the broken hereditary title of any prince whatsoever, as being less subject to those cracks and flaws they are commonly incident unto, which titles have cost more blood in former times in this nation than we have reason to speak of now."

He said that, "having received his office from God and from the people, he was resolved never to part with it until God and the people should take it from him. That it could not be expected they were a free parliament, further than as they should act in accordance with the Instrument of Government. That they were so by virtue of his writs of election, and yet they disowned the authority by which they were assembled. That they were free to deliberate on what concerned the general welfare; but that there were four fundamental principles which they were not to dispute. The first was, government by a single person and a parliament; second, that parliament should not make themselves perpetual; third, that they should not interfere with the liberty of conscience; and fourth, that the power of the sword and of the militia should rest in a single person and the parliament. That he considered these fundamental principles were so clear, that he did not think it necessary to require their subscriptions to them before entering upon their legislative discussions; but

that they now forced him to prevent their entrance into the parliament-house until they recognised the government by subscribing an engagement to be true and faithful to the Lord Protector." This engagement was signed by all the moderate members, and by a few of the Republicans; but Bradshaw, Haselrig, Scott, and others, considered it a flagrant violation of the freedom of parliament, and declined to sign it. It was certainly an arbitrary proceeding; and unless we remember that the situation of the Lord Protector, and the great risk of another civil war to which the country was about to be exposed by the Republicans and Presbyterians, there were no grounds to justify so violent and despotic a measure. Cromwell knew well that the Republicans were hated by the nation. He perceived that they, aided by the Presbyterians and other Royalists, would interrupt all practical legislation; and he was disgusted with their religious intolerance. He told them plainly, that this "pitiful forwardness and peevishness which they manifested, he valued no more than the moths in the sun; but, that the parliament should dispute his office and his authority, was a great astonishment to him."*

General Harrison was on the same day arrested, but was detained only a short time in custody. The signing of the instrument of recognition commenced with the officers of the army and all those connected with the court, and when about one hundred

* Goddard's Journal; Cromwell's speech; Whitelock, September 12th; Faithful Scout, September 15th; and Weekly Post, September 19th—(the Scout and Post were the Republican papers, published on Tuesdays and Fridays); Perfect Diurnal, October 9th; Mercurius Politicus, September 14th; Thurloe, vol. ii., p. 715; Several Proceedings, September 21; Journals of Parliament.

had subscribed, the Speaker was sent for, who also appended his signature, and the house adjourned till two o'clock. On reassembling, several of the country members subscribed to the Instrument, after which the house adjourned over Wednesday, being a fast day, until the following Thursday.*

The Republican and Presbyterian party in parliament, although they constituted a majority, yet they feared the superior mind and strong will of Cromwell, and the force of the army. Still, however, they ventured to condemn some parts of the Instrument of

* Goddard says the Instrument of Recognition was to the following effect: "I do hereby freely promise and engage that I will be true and faithful to the Lord Protector and the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and that according to the tenor of the indentures whereby I am returned to serve in this present parliament, I will not propose or consent to alter the government, as it is settled in a sole person and the parliament." Goddard continues: "Our Norfolk members did not presently subscribe, saving only Mr. Frere, who instantly subscribed it. The rest of the members did most of us dine together to consult what was fittest to be done in so great an exigent, in order to the discharge of our trust; and truly the subscription was, in effect, no more than we were restrained unto by our Indentures, and the thing would be done without us, and we had fairly contended for it. We had not given the question, but it was forced from us, and we were told that plainly it must be so. For these and several other considerations and reasons, immediately concerned in this affair, preferring the peace of our countries, and the safety of our people, which we thought ought to prevail with men, to passions and humours, we thought fit rather to give way to the present necessity, and to comply with it, by submitting than by refusing. Accordingly we did subscribe, all excepting Mr. Woodhouse, Mr. Hobbart, and Mr. Church; and although we condemn the breach of privilege as much as any, yet we doubt not but to acquit ourselves to God and our country in so doing, rather than put the nation into another combustion and confusion." This conduct on the part of the Norfolk members was at least wise and practical. The members for Norfolk were Sir William D'Oyley, Sir Ralph Hare, Thomas Wild, Robert Wilton, Thomas Sotherton, Philip Woodhouse, Robert Wood, senior, Philip Beddingfield, and Tobias Frere, for the county of Norfolk; Bernard Church and John Hobart for the city of Norwich; Guibon Goddard and Philip Skippon for Lynne-Regis; and Colonel William Goffe and Thomas Dunne for Great Yarmouth.—*Parliamentary History*, vol. xx., p. 301.

Government, and especially that which invested the supreme legislative authority in one person and in the people assembled in parliament; instead of which, they contended that this supreme power ought to be in the parliament of the people of England, and in a single person qualified with such instructions as that assembly might suggest; and although it was at first voted that "the supreme legislative authority of this Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging, should reside in one person and the people assembled in parliament by their representatives," yet it was also voted that "all bills agreed unto by the parliament shall be presented to the said single person for his consent; and if he shall not give his consent thereunto within twenty days after they shall be presented to him, or give satisfaction to the parliament within a limited time, that then such bills shall pass into law, although he shall not give his consent unto them: provided such bills shall contain nothing in them contrary to such matters wherein the parliament shall think fit to give a negative to the Lord Protector." And, to avoid all jealousies, it was further resolved that "this vote shall not in anything be prejudicial or binding at all until the whole government be composed unto a bill."

The court party, however, contended that the second vote destroyed the government and unmade the Protector; and one member, probably Lord Broghil, said that "so fatal and so mortal was this wound to the government, that he did wish he could have redeemed it with a pound of the best blood in his

body." A violent debate ensued as to whether the word "declare" should be substituted for the word "give" in the second vote; in the course of which it was contended by the Republicans that "to say, he the Protector hath it now by Providence, is an argument like to a two-edged sword, and that a thief by law has as good a title to a purse which he takes upon the highway. That, however, the Lord Protector has no cause to quarrel with the word '*give*,' since nothing can be so quietly and honourably enjoyed as that *given* by the parliament; and certainly, unless it be *given* by the parliament, he cannot justly have it; for without doubt the right of the legislature is naturally, inherently, and inseparably in the people, and consequently in their representatives in parliament." * The following amendment was, however, substituted for the latter part of the second vote: "Provided that such bills contain nothing in them contrary to such matters wherein the said single person and the parliament shall think fit to *declare* a negative to be in the said single person."† The debates continued for some days on various questions: chiefly on the exclusion of sheriffs from parliament, as giving the executive the same dangerous authority which it exercised in the reign of Charles I.; and also in regard to the oath which should be tendered to, and taken by, the Lord Protector;—the persons who should sit and serve in parliament;—the duration of parliament;—and the negative of such duration being in a single person;

* Goddard's Journal, p. 57 to 59.

† See Journals; and Parliamentary History, 1654-55.

and on the subjects of the militia and religion, or, as it was termed, *the Bible* and *the Sword.** The finances and assessments were also discussed; and it was voted that "such of the standing forces of this Commonwealth as should be agreed to be continued upon the charge of the Commonwealth in the intervals of parliament, shall be ordered and disposed of for the ends aforesaid, for the good of the Commonwealth, in such manner as the Lord Protector, with the advice and consent of his council, shall direct, but not otherwise."

The time of the house continued to be wasted for the purpose evidently of factious delay, and the Lord Protector clearly perceived that the proceedings of the parliament were framed to subvert the government.† But he still allowed the members to proceed in their debates, without any interruption from him, during the months of September, October, November, December, and until the 22nd of January; although they had not presented a single bill for his consent. They were occupied with scarcely any practical, and with very many theoretical and intolerant motions and questions; and with such a dis-

* "On the subject of religion there was not only granted a committee of the whole house, but also a committee of creed-makers."—*Note to Goddard.*

† The house passed a resolution delaying the "execution of the ordinance for regulating and limiting the jurisdiction of the Court of Chancery until the 25th of December next;" and requiring that Mr. Foxwist should "then make his report of the act for limiting and regulating the jurisdiction of the said court."—*Journals.* This act was promulgated by the Lord Protector and his council on the 22nd of August, 1654. It proposed a reform still apparently postponed *ad græcas calendas*, that all proceedings may be with less trouble, expense, and delay than heretofore in that court, too often misnamed a Court of Equity. See note to Goddard's Journal, in Burton, vol. i., p. 50.

cordant parliament, it was impossible for the Lord Protector to administer the government of the empire, either to his own satisfaction or to the advantage of the nation.

He thoroughly understood his situation. He knew well, that he had no family prestige,—no national traditions, no sentiments of grateful generosity for having established and maintained tranquillity, existing in his favour; and he was grieved that the majority of the parliament, which he had allowed to be freely elected, were violently and unreasonably opposed to the very Instrument in virtue of which alone they were summoned, and held their indentures. Although we may condemn the harsh proceeding of closing the house of parliament against the members, yet, after a careful examination of the debates and of the periodical journals of those days, with the various records and histories transmitted to us, as well as the despatches of the ministers of foreign states to their respective courts, we cannot arrive at any other conclusion than that, if Cromwell had not controlled this parliament, the calamities of a civil war would not have been averted. The parliament passed resolutions, some of them unobjectionable and useful; but they did not pass any law. They continued discussing and postponing to the last the articles of the Instrument of Government, and framing a new act of settlement.

The Lord Protector himself, except in so far as determining that he should not yield up to the parliament his office as chief magistrate, bore with them, in every respect, with remarkable moderation. He considered, that in dissolving the Long

Parliament, which had rendered itself independent of the people, by sitting without any reference to re-election, he had relieved the nation from a tyranny; and that his own power over the three kingdoms was then boundless and unlimited: that he did not grasp after power to keep it in his own hands,—no, not for a day; for he assembled the Little Parliament, to whom he surrendered the supreme power and the government of the Commonwealth: that he was reinvested with the whole supreme power by that parliament; and that he had without delay called, on the authority of the Instrument of Government, a free parliament of members, who were returned by indentures which restrained them from altering the government as settled in a single person and a parliament: but that they had no sooner assembled than they disputed his authority.

Among the questions discussed in parliament was that of a successor to the Lord Protector; and it was at length decided, after many tedious and dull debates, that if the vacancy should occur during the sitting of the parliament, the legislature should determine in what manner the appointment to the office of chief magistrate should be made: if when the parliament were not in session, that the council of state, — not less than thirteen members being present,—and with the free-will of eleven members, should appoint a successor. It was also decided that the forces of the Commonwealth, both by sea and land, should also during the sitting of parliament be under the authority of the Lord Protector, with the consent of the parliament; and that during the recess all the forces should be at

the disposal of the Lord Protector, with the consent of the council. It was also resolved that the ordinances for levying men for the service of the state which were decreed by the Lord Protector and council, should remain in force only to the end of the present parliament; but that afterwards no law should be enacted, or no tax imposed or levied, without the consent of the people by their representatives. That the members of the council should be named by the Lord Protector, and approved of by the parliament; that the power of making war should be altogether in the Lord Protector and the parliament; and that the chancellor, the lord treasurer, the high admiral, the two chief justices and chief barons; the chief governors of Ireland and Scotland, and the chief officers of the administration in Ireland and Scotland, should also require in their appointment the confirmation of the parliament. The house approved of the appointment of Fleetwood as lord deputy of Ireland; of Whitelock, Widdrington, and Lisle, as lords commissioners of the great seal of England, and of the commissioners of the treasury, which included the commissioners of the great seal,—of Rolle and St. John, the two chief justices of England; and of Sydenham and Montagu, the two chief barons.

The other proceedings of this parliament are almost unworthy of notice; but we cannot pass over their intolerant and fanatical debates and proceedings regarding religion. None proved more obnoxious to the Lord Protector; and it is with regret we find it our duty to record the fact, that Baxter, whose principles were those of toleration, and Owen, a

Presbyterian, and Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, drew up articles of Faith, for this parliament, which were utterly repugnant to the charity, benevolence, and moderation of Christianity. Those twenty articles were introduced into the house for the purpose of instituting an intolerant uniformity of faith, for which the Presbyterians of the time contended, with as little regard for the liberty of conscience as was ever instituted or practised by the Church of Rome.*

With respect to the finances, the proceedings of the parliament were delayed in order to prolong its sitting, and to embarrass the Lord Protector; and the members even attempted to reduce the monthly assessments from 120,000*l.* to 60,000*l.* per month. With this view, a bill was introduced and read a first and a second time, and brought up for amendment, on the 4th of December. Its third reading was adjourned to the end of the month; yet it was never submitted to the Lord Protector for his consent, although the very credit of the country was in consequence endangered. They had prepared an act of settlement, but it was still delayed; and on the 10th of January the members of the government, in their places in parliament, moved that, before the act should be engrossed, a conference should be held with the Lord Protector, which motion, however, was lost on a division, the opposition party carrying the third reading by a majority of 107 to 95;

* I will have to advert to the proceedings of this parliament in religious matters, as well as to similar proceedings of the succeeding parliament, separately, in order to bring the state and spirit of religion, as well as that of education, more lucidly and distinctly before the view of the reader. I have therefore omitted in the present chapter any remarks on the persecution of John Biddle, and other acts of intolerance, by this parliament.

and six days afterwards the parliament voted that the bill should become law without the Protector's consent. But on the following day, repenting of this desperate resolution, they agreed that it should be engrossed, and presented to the Lord Protector for his consent; and that unless the Lord Protector and the parliament should agree to the whole bill as it then stood, it should become void and of no effect. It was consequently engrossed and read a third time on the 19th—a proceeding which deprived the Lord Protector of all discretion and judgment as to the merits of the bill. This act contained within it provisions declaring that the ordinance for raising money for the necessary expenditure of the country should terminate at the end of the session; and yet they had not even presented to him for his approbation the bill of assessments which they had passed for the maintenance of the army; and as the ordinance for assessments expired on the 24th of December, it was evident that the parliament resolved to perpetuate its sitting by refusing supplies which depended altogether on the clause which enacted that the ordinance should continue in force until the end of the parliament. This conduct was in practice a reinstitution of the Long Parliament.*

Cromwell, therefore, finding himself driven to extremities, determined on dissolving the parlia-

* According to the Instrument of Government, the next parliament was to assemble in October, 1656, and the present assembly might have thus sat without prorogation until that day, and then have given over their powers to a more turbulent, or Royalist parliament, which, by the influence of the members of the present parliament, might be elected.

ment. Whitelock endeavoured to persuade him from this decision; but the Lord Protector, in his mind and temper, was eminently qualified to meet a crisis which would be fatal to other men In the dignity of his mind, and in the strength of his moral and personal courage, he neither feared nor shrunk before this responsibility, although in the army many of the Republicans were his inveterate enemies. According to the calendar, twelve days had yet to expire of the five months for which the parliament was entitled to sit by the Instrument of Government. But as it had been settled, on paying the military and the seamen, that twenty-eight days constituted a month, he accordingly decided that the five legislative months expired on the 22nd of January.

Had the majority of this parliament been men of such abilities as the "Rump" of the Long Parliament, its dissolution might have been rendered impracticable; but this majority consisted of Presbyterians and Royalists who were favourable to the restoration of Charles II. They had displayed no skill, no dexterity, no political forethought; for they had actually voted a confirmation of the Protectorate, although they attempted to limit the powers of the Lord Protector. They would have established a Presbyterian Church government, as the state religion, and the intolerant exclusion of all others. They would also have restored an hereditary royalty in the family of the Stuarts; but they were destitute of the administrative capacity necessary to conduct and execute great measures. They were detested in the army; although in the latter Cromwell had several determined enemies among the stubborn

Republicans. There were few, probably no Presbyterians or Royalists in that army. Although some officers and privates disapproved of his conduct, we believe that generally, among the soldiery, the Lord Protector was looked upon as the greatest administrator and general that had ever appeared in the world. He was liberal, generous, and tolerant; he hated persecution; he cherished the soldiers, and he loved the Independents; and the army consisted nearly altogether of this sect.

On Monday, the 22nd of January, 1655, the Lord Protector commanded the Speaker and the parliament to attend him in the Painted Chamber, where he addressed them in a dignified and able speech. He rebuked them with severity for their leaving the country and the public affairs in a far worse condition than upon the day on which they had first assembled. They had not tendered him one bill for his assent; they had suffered the law of taxation necessary for the support of the credit and honesty of England to expire; they did all they could to humiliate the nation in the presence of foreign states; they had resolved not to act in harmony with the executive government; they had allowed all discontented factions to hope in a speedy return of the Stuarts; they had held no communication with him on matters relating to the welfare of the people; and he told them frankly that they had done nothing that was good. He had prayed to God to enlighten their minds and to bless their labours, and they had aided the fanatics to disturb the country. He spoke in the fear of the Lord, who was not to be mocked; and he was supported

by an approving conscience. Men were blind who would not see the hand of Providence in its merciful dispensations. They would not provide money, and they probably thought that it was impossible for him to levy the necessary supplies without their aid; but he had been inured to difficulties, and he never found God fail him when he trusted in Him. The country would contribute to England's wants, as the people knew there existed the necessity, and that this necessity was not created by him but by the parliament, which had so wilfully neglected its duty; and he concluded with these words: "I think it my duty to tell you that it is not for the benefit of this nation, nor the common and public good, that you should continue to sit any longer, and therefore I do declare unto you that I do dissolve this parliament."*

Thus was dissolved that impracticable parliament, which no doubt contained among its members several honest patriots, and a majority who represented the interests and sentiments of the Royalists. But Cromwell, in this perilous moment, shrunk not from the responsibility of his great trust; and especially when, at this critical juncture, his vigilance had discovered that conspiracies had been formed, not only against his power and his life, but for subverting the Commonwealth and the Liberties of the Empire.†

* Parliamentary History, vol. xx., pp. 404–431; Whitelock, pp. 592–599; Elenchus, 290.

† Journals; Whitelock; Goddard's Journal; Ludlow.

CHAPTER V.

DOMESTIC ADMINISTRATION—PLOTS OF THE REPUBLICANS AND OF THE ROYALISTS—INSURRECTIONS IN THE NORTH AND WEST OF ENGLAND SUPPRESSED—EXECUTIONS—MR. CONY RESISTS PAYMENT OF CUSTOMS DUTIES—HIS TRIAL AND SUBMISSION—MEASURES OF TAXATION—DIFFICULTIES AND SUCCESS OF THE LORD PROTECTOR.

THE parliament having been dissolved without having passed any one useful act of legislation, the Lord Protector was left to govern the empire according to his own sagacity and judgment; and by such assistance, advice, and information as might be afforded to him by his council. That it was his earnest desire to administer the affairs of Great Britain and Ireland with justice and mercy, is not denied even by those who have animadverted severely on his general character and policy. That the parliament which he had just dissolved had been elected without any interference to prevent the return of obnoxious members, is admitted by Hume, as well as by all other reputable authorities.*

* Hume, alluding to the prejudices entertained against his government by this parliament, observes further: "It must be confessed that, if we are left to gather Cromwell's intentions from his 'Instrument of Government,' it is such a motley piece (?) that we cannot easily conjecture whether he meant to establish a tyranny or a republic. On the one hand, a first magistrate in so extensive a government seemed

The Republicans and Royalists plotted against him in that very parliament; and Cromwell felt with the bitterness of disappointment, after its dissolution, that he was left in a far less favourable position than before he had assembled that representative body. Yet he stood forth with almost unexampled magnanimity amidst the dangers which surrounded him. His temper was not soured either towards his friends or his enemies; he neither became a misanthrope nor a tyrant; and, if he may be accused of committing some acts of severity, they appear to be justified by the difficulties of his situation, and by the necessity of maintaining the laws and the tranquillity of the empire.

Every incident revived the hopes of the Royalists; every act excited the suspicion of the Republicans. Cromwell, who had no intolerance within his own heart—who considered manly exercises and sports as

necessary, both for the dignity and the tranquillity of the state; and the authority which he assumed as Protector was, in some respects, inferior to the prerogatives which the law entrusted, and still entrusts, to the king. On the other hand, the legislative power which he reserved to himself and council, together with so great an army independent of the parliament, were bad prognostics of his intentions to submit to the civil and legal constitution. *But if these were his intentions, the method in which he distributed and conducted the elections, being so favourable to liberty, forms an inconsistency which is not easily accounted for.*"—*Hume's History of England*, vol. vii., p. 238.

Southey, a courtly, and, to Cromwell, not a friendly historian, observes, in allusion to this parliament, "Cromwell was now paying the bitter price of successful ambition. His good sense, and his good nature, would have led him to govern equitably and mercifully, to promote literature, to cherish the arts, and to pour wine and oil into the wounds of the nation. But, as in the language of the schools, *uno absurdo dato, sequunter millia*, so in politics and in morals are error and guilt fearfully prolific: the disease of the roots taints the remotest branches. Having attained to power by sinister means, Cromwell, in spite of himself, was compelled to govern tyrannically; he was actually in danger from the Royalists, the greater, though inactive, part of the nation, among whom indignant spirits were continually at work; and from the Levellers, by whose instrumentality he had raised himself to his insecure and miserable elevation."—*Life of Cromwell.*

salutary and innocent, and not, like the Puritans, as reprehensible and sinful, had frequently hunted; and he often rode in his carriage or on horseback around Hyde Park, for pleasure or for exercise.

He had received presents of different kinds from several European princes; among others, from the Duke of Oldenburg, who sent him six Friesland carriage-horses. On the 5th of October, a few days after he had required the members of parliament to subscribe to the engagement to which we have already alluded, the Lord Protector dined with his secretary, the ungrateful Thurloe, under the shades of Hyde Park. His carriage, with the six Friesland horses, were in attendance. Cromwell, in order to try the mettle or temper of the animals, undertook to drive the six, in hand, around the park. Finding them, as he thought, tractable and well broken in, he lashed them into a gallop, on which they ran off at such furious speed, that the Lord Protector was thrown from his seat, while, at the same moment, the explosion of one of his loaded pistols so further terrified the animals, that they bounded away with maddened impetuosity. Cromwell fell on and clung to the pole, while one of his legs was caught in the harness; but he extricated himself by suddenly pulling his foot from his shoe, and then, falling on the ground between the wheels, the carriage passed over him, without injuring his person. His guards, who followed immediately behind, carried him off safely to Whitehall. His secretary, Thurloe, jumped from the carriage, sprained his ankle, and was otherwise severely, but not dangerously, bruised. The Lord Protector

was for some time confined to his apartments, but whether from suffering by the shock, or from policy, is uncertain.* The escape of Cromwell was considered miraculous by his friends; but the Cavaliers, who took every opportunity to ridicule him, pretended to foresee that it was only "preparatory to another fall from a cart," meaning, that he would meet with the ignominious death of being hanged as a traitor.†

During the sitting of parliament, Cromwell, who contrived always to be informed of almost every intrigue, however secret, discovered that a most unnatural alliance was forming between the Republicans and the Royalists; and that the latter were collecting arms, munitions of war, provisions, and other necessary supplies, on the Continent. The Republicans—especially those officers of the army who had resolved that the sovereignty of the Lord Protector should be terminated,—encouraged the prevailing discontents; and those divisions, as tending greatly to weaken the authority of Cromwell, revived all the sanguine hopes of the Royalists. The Republicans made no allowance whatever for the tranquillity which had been established and maintained by the Lord Protector's superior sagacity, military genius, and administrative energy. They did not weigh the difficulties of governing an empire divided into factions; they, on the contrary, looked upon Cromwell as an ambitious usurper, who had destroyed the commonwealth of their illusions. He was attacked in pamphlets, accusing him of perjury and

* Thurloe, ii., pp. 652-672; Ludlow, ii., p. 63; Heath, p. 363.
† Thurloe, ii., p. 652 to 657; Ludlow, ii., p. 63.

hypocrisy; agitators passed from regiment to regiment, endeavouring to excite the army against him, proposing to arrest his person, and to seize upon the strongholds of the kingdom.* The Royalists, pretending to deplore the blood which had been shed, and the sufferings which had been experienced, endeavoured to render him odious to the people by execrating his name and his conduct. And they even pretended, "that if they had to look with confidence the King of Terror in the face, if they sought to save themselves from the bottomless pit, it was necessary to espouse once more the cause of him who had called them forth in their generation to assert the freedom of the people and the privilege of parliament."†

Among the most dangerous of his Republican enemies were Lord Grey of Groby, Colonels Wildman, Overton, Alured, and numerous other officers of the army. Their design was to take advantage of the excitement and perplexity which had been occasioned by the attempts of the Royalists. Overton was probably the most formidable, as he was probably the ablest of the conspirators. He was suspected while he was with his regiment in Scotland, and summoned to London in May, 1654, where he was detained until September, when Cromwell seemed so far satisfied with the frankness of his language, and the devotion of his expressions, that he actually sent him back to Scotland as second in command under General Monk. This is but one

* These facts are abundantly proved by the writings and tracts of the time. See also Ludlow, Thurloe, Burton, Whitelock, Clarendon; also Baron Maseres' Collection of Tracts; Milton's State Papers.

† Thurloe, vol. iii., p. 29; Milton's State Papers, 132.

proof among many of the confiding spirit of Cromwell, when he believed that men were sincere in their professions. Overton, however, although he had enjoyed the confidential friendship of Milton, and had been so generously trusted by the Lord Protector, was at heart, and soon after in practice, a traitor to Cromwell. On returning to Scotland, he conspired with the principal Republican officers and soldiers of the army to seize on the person of Monk. The malcontents, estimated at about 3000 foot, exclusive of cavalry, agreed to invest Overton with the chief command of the Scottish army, and to march into England, where it was insinuated that Bradshaw and Haselrig would join them; while Vice-Admiral Lawson, with whom they carried on a correspondence, promised to join the Republicans with the squadron under his command.

This plot included a junction with the Royalists, with whom Overton, as it has since been proved, held a correspondence. It would have been impossible under these circumstances, and if, as the Republicans pretended, a free parliament was immediately to be summoned, not to accomplish the speedy restoration of Charles II.*

The Lord Protector, in the midst of these dangers, which would have been fatal to any other man, had, however, in Scotland a general so vigilant in watch-

* Whitelock, who was certainly a statesman of expediency—and much of his diary appears to me to have been either written or moulded so as to render it less obnoxious to those in the ascendant after the Restoration—says:

"February 13th. Divers suspected there was a design at the bottom of it to intend a bringing in of the king; inasmuch as they made it part of their declaration to call a *truly free parliament*, which was the ready way for the king's restoration."

ing the actions of others, that the designs of Overton and his accomplices were fully discovered.* In January, 1655, the Republican officers and other conspirators appointed a day to meet at Edinburgh, in order to carry their plot into execution by arresting Monk and such other officers as were favourable to the Lord Protector. But, in the mean time, the information received by Cromwell was such that he ordered the immediate arrest of Overton at Aberdeen, together with several other malcontents, which completely frustrated their conspiracy in Scotland. Overton was sent by sea to London, and confined closely in the Tower; and Monk continued to maintain full authority and tranquillity in Scotland.†

In England, a plot was conceived and planned with desperate boldness by the Republicans and the Royalists. Colonel Wildman, who had eight years before conspired with Lilburne to assassinate Cromwell, was at that time a conspicuous person in the councils of the agitators; and being a ready and expressive writer, he had contributed to, or had written, the manifestoes setting forth the grievances of the army. He now became one of the most active conspirators against Cromwell; and Sexby, a fearless republican, was employed in carry-

* It is said that the governor of Hull, Captain Overton, a relative of the general, confessed the whole plot.

† Several Proceedings, January 11th; Thurloe, vol. iii., pp. 35-46, 55, 147, 185, 217, 230; vol. iv., p. 132.

Overton was one of those who wrote vulgar epigrams on the Lord Protector. I extract the following from Thurloe (vol. iii., p. 75):

"A Protector—what's that? It's a stat'ly thing
That confess's itself but the ape of a king:
A counterfeit piece, that woodingly shows
A golden effigies with a copper nose.
In fine—He is one we Protector may call,
From whom may the King of Kings protect us all."

ing intelligence or communications from the malcontents in one part, to those in the other parts of the kingdom.

Among those suspected was Haselrig; and no doubt was entertained but that Carew, Lawson, Henry Martin, Lord Grey of Groby, Alured, Hacker, and the Anabaptists generally, had joined in an extensive conspiracy for the destruction of the Lord Protector.* They had their emissaries in every town in the kingdom, and they relied confidently on the co-operation of Bristol, Taunton, Portsmouth, Hull, and Berwick. They were also encouraged to rely on the support of several regiments, especially those of Overton, Okey, Pride, Tomlinson, Alured, Harrison, and Rich; although the two latter had been removed from their commands. The Royalists had laid their plans to rise early in March, in concert with the Presbyterians and Republicans, in various parts of the kingdom; and they had formed parties in Yorkshire, Shropshire, Nottinghamshire, Wiltshire, Devonshire, and other counties. Some of the exiled Royalists were emboldened to return and land in England. Charles II. had left Cologne, and took up his residence at Middleburgh, in Zeeland, in order to pass over to England when his affairs became favourable. Wilmot, the notorious Earl of Rochester, with another Royalist, Sir Joseph Wagstaff, crossed over to England in order to take the command of the royal insurgents.

Wagstaff penetrated into the western counties, and on the 11th of March appeared at the head of 200 Wiltshire yeomen, on horseback, and entered Salis-

* Thurloe, vol. iii., pp. 35, 147-48; and vol. vi., p. 829.

bury at daybreak of the morning on which the county assizes were to be opened. But the vigilance and energy of the Lord Protector intercepted and defeated the plans, both of the Republicans and Royalists. In February, Colonel Wildman, when in the act of dictating to his secretary a most offensive manifesto, entitled "A Declaration of the Free and Well-Affected People of England now in arms against the Tyrant, Oliver Cromwell," was arrested and committed to prison. Lord Grey of Groby was shut up in Windsor Castle; Colonel Harrison in the Isle of Portland; and Carew at St. Mawes, Cornwall.*

Rochester, who was to have taken the command of the insurgents in the north of England, was utterly disappointed. Sir Henry Slingsby and Sir Richard Maleverer appeared in arms with their adherents, but they were immediately subdued, arrested, and imprisoned; and Rochester, in attempting to return to London, was captured at Aylesbury, and imprisoned; but he contrived to escape, and pass over to the continent.

Wagstaff, although only joined by 200 horsemen, madly seized on the persons of Chief Justice Rolle, Justice Nicholas, and the high sheriff, on the morning of the day on which he had entered Salisbury. But his followers were disheartened, and insisted on their being set at liberty. He proclaimed Charles II. in the market-place; but being disappointed in not receiving reinforcements from the Hampshire Royalists, he retreated in despair from Salisbury

* Whitelock, February 13th; Ludlow, 533; Thurloe, vol. viii., 147-48; Perfect Diurnal, March 5th.

the evening of the same day on which he entered that town; and journeying through Dorsetshire, he arrived at South Molton, Devonshire, chased by Captain Crook with a single troop of cavalry, to whom the few insurgents who accompanied him surrendered, Wagstaff and two others only being able to escape by flight.*

Among the prisoners was Colonel Penruddock, who was said to be a man of humanity and honour, and who, shocked at the seizure of the judges by Wagstaff, and at his ordering them to be hanged on a public gallows, had insisted not only on their lives being spared, but that they should be set at liberty. His interference, it is believed, saved the lives of the judges. He, after a sharp skirmish at South Molton, surrendered with his troop to Crook.

These insurgents were subsequently tried. Cromwell appears to have refrained from interfering in those trials; and instead of the prisoners being tried by a court-martial—which would not have been irregular, for they were actually taken in arms against the government of the country—they were tried according to the ordinary forms of law, and by a jury. Rolle, the chief justice, in order to avoid the imputation of being actuated by personal feeling, in resentment of the contumelious treatment he received at Salisbury, declined presiding; and the prisoners were tried by Thorpe, Glyn, and Steele, the recorder of London. At the courts of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, held at Salisbury, Exeter, and Sherborne, several of the Royalists were condemned to

* Whitelock, vol. vi., p. 20; Thurloe, vol. iii., pp. 263-306; Ludlow, vol. ii., p. 69.

suffer death. Penruddock, who was really worthy of mercy, was beheaded at Exeter. A few of the others were executed, several were pardoned, and many were transported to Barbadoes, where, in the public market, they were sold as slaves for a term of years, in the same manner as the Scotch prisoners and those taken at the battle of Worcester were disposed of,—an act of severity with regard to the prisoners taken at Worcester which never can be justified. With respect to those captured in Penruddock's insurrection, it may be urged there was a necessity of holding up an example to all others who would attempt with impunity to spread anarchy and confusion in the country. It is estimated that from 2000 to 3000 were altogether, from first to last, transported to Barbadoes; how many Catholics, if any, is uncertain.*

The efforts made by the Royalists, and the expectations entertained in England with regard to the success of this brief insurrection, had excited extraordinary hopes; and its discomfiture not only occasioned grievous disappointment to the Stuarts, but the utter dispersion of all their adherents in Great Britain. At the same time, this insurrection and its speedy suppression not only strengthened the authority, but exalted the reputation of the Lord Protector. His vigilance, energy, and ability, were not only applauded, but the hopes of his opponents in the late parliament were frustrated; inasmuch as they had considered that his government must fail

* Burton's Diary, vol. iv., p. 272; Thurloe, vol. iii., p. 453; Whitelock, March. Clarendon says, "That if Wagstaff had hanged the Chief Justice Rolle, it would have been a seasonable act of severity." Ludlow, p. 516-17; Elenchus Motuum, part ii., p. 184.

from the want of supplies for maintaining the military and naval expenditure.

A troublesome incident, however, now occurred. In the city, a Mr. Cony, a merchant, refused to pay the duty of customs for merchandise, on the ground that the impost was illegal. He was in consequence fined 500*l.* by the custom-house authorities, and on refusing to pay the fine he was committed for contempt. A writ of *Habeas Corpus* was moved for in his favour, but through some technical informalities his imprisonment was prolonged until after Easter. He was then brought to trial in the month of May following, and he had for his counsel Maynard, Twisden, and Wadham Windham. The duty had been levied by an ordinance of the Lord Protector and council, which was passed on the 20th of March, 1654, continuing the customs for four years.* The question now to be tried was the validity of this ordinance, and the legality of the power from which it had originated. The constitutional lawyers always contended, on great and true principles, that the statute-laws of England being enacted by the people assembled, or represented in parliament, were essential to the preservation of civil and political liberty. It was held, that in a court of law the validity of an order of council merely rested on the record of a body constituted under the government of the Commonwealth, and was not of sufficient legal force to justify a change or a subversion of the English constitution; but, on the other hand, it was contended that the law of

* Narrative of the case in Selwood; Private Proceedings, May 24th; Whitelock, June.

necessity was pre-eminent; for, although the old government had perished, yet the domestic peace and the foreign affairs of the nation must be maintained for the benefit of all; that the means for sustaining that peace and those relations should be contributed by the nation; and that if these means were refused by a parliament freely chosen, it was evident that a factious temper, and not a spirit of patriotism, had actuated the men who composed that assembly. The duty of such a parliament was to decide on the supplies necessary for maintaining the government, and to deliberate on the best mode of administering the laws, preserving the tranquillity, and protecting the persons and the property of the English people.

In the case of Mr. Cony, Cromwell was placed very nearly in the same position as that of Charles I. in the case of John Hampden; but the circumstances were essentially different. Cromwell did not proceed to levy those customs for arbitrary purposes, with a view to rendering his power absolute; or for maintaining a Hierarchy, which persecuted all men who did not conform to its ritual. The parliament which he had freely convened, and which had assembled on no other authority than the very Instrument of Government by which he exercised power, had refused supplies, regardless of the calamities of a probable civil war, merely to deprive him of authority, and chiefly with a view to establishing an absolute, intolerant, and persecuting form of Presbyterian government, which would ultimately restore Charles II.*

* Private Proceedings.

The proceedings against Mr. Cony were severe, if not arbitrary. The question to determine was, were those proceedings justified by the necessity of the case? The precedent was dangerous; the pleadings of Maynard were admirable; his arguments vigorous, logical, and legal; and, if confirmed, they would probably have overwhelmed the government of the Lord Protector. He was, however, charged with having uttered intemperate language dangerous to the preservation of peace, and to the stability of the existing government, and on the following day he and the other pleaders were sent to the Tower.

Mr. Cony then plead his own case in person, with remarkable ability; and the lord chief justice, in the perplexity of his mind, ordered the case to stand over until the next term. On the 7th of June, Lord Chief Justice Rolle represented his scruples to the Lord Protector, and obtained from him a writ of ease; in consequence of which, a few days afterwards, Glyn was appointed his successor as Lord Chief Justice of England.*

During the vacation, Maynard, Twisden, and Windham were discharged, on prudently submitting, for the preservation of order, to the government; and Mr. Cony appears to have been prevailed upon, on similar public grounds, to withdraw his case from the court.†

In consequence of Judges Thorpe and Hale, who were put in commission to try the prisoners in the

* Perfect Proceedings, May 24th and 31st; June 13. Chief Justice Rolle died on the 30th of July of the following year.

† Docquet Book of the Crown Office; Perfect Proceedings, June 7th—21st.

north, having requested they might not be called upon to sit in judgment on cases in which their consciences did not acquiesce, they also obtained writs of ease; and Steele, the Recorder of London, was immediately appointed Chief Baron of the Exchequer.

Other difficulties now arose, which the Lord Protector had to encounter with the boldness and dignity of a sovereign, and the knowledge and skill of a statesman. Never did any man stand in a more critical situation with regard to his own power, and the real interests of the English people; and there is no doubt that, however reprehensible his acts would have been under ordinary circumstances, he did not, on the present occasion, exceed in any important degree that which the necessities of the state demanded. He had sought to reform the abuses, delays, and oppressions of the Court of Chancery; he had passed an ordinance in August, 1654, with the advice of his council, to this effect, and he had now determined that this ordinance should not remain a dead letter. He accordingly, on the 23rd of April, 1655, issued a mandate to the commissioners of the great seal (Whitelock, Widdrington, and Lisle), ordering that they should proceed to reform the Court of Chancery in accordance with the provisions of that ordinance. They consulted with Lenthal, Master of the Rolls. Whitelock objected to the legality of the ordinance, and resigned. But when the Lord Protector dispensed with the services of Whitelock, Widdrington, and the Master of the Rolls, the latter, on the ground that he considered the urgency of

public affairs as preferable to the mere honour of theoretical consistency, returned to office. Cromwell, instead of acting harshly on this occasion towards Whitelock and Widdrington, appointed each a commissioner of the treasury, with a salary of 1000*l.* per annum. This is one among many proofs of his kindness and magnanimity.

CHAPTER VI.

PERILOUS SITUATION OF CROMWELL—FINANCIAL DIFFICULTIES—ARRESTS OF THE ROYALISTS—DIVISION OF ENGLAND INTO MAJOR-GENERALSHIPS—ASSESSMENT OF THE ESTATES OF THE ROYALISTS—INSTRUCTIONS TO THE MAJORS-GENERAL—CROMWELL'S POWER OF LORD PROTECTOR.

A SOVEREIGN, whose policy is honestly to maintain the tranquillity, and to promote the happiness of a nation, but who is refused by parliament the supplies which are indispensable to support the civil government, and to sustain the national defences on a safe footing, is, without dispute, placed in a most trying and perilous situation. During the feudal ages kings possessed their own independent property, drew their own revenues, and they could also command the services of their vassals. By these resources, and by plunder, they not only maintained their courts and retinues, but they were enabled to carry on wars, and to devastate the territories of their neighbours or their enemies. In modern times, there have been few absolute monarchs who have not been harassed by financial embarrassments.*

* The house of Hapsburg may attribute most of their calamities to their vicious financial system, and the consequent poverty of their treasury. The deranged finances of Louis XIV. prognosticated and formed a chief cause of the French Revolution. Prussia owes her grandeur to her judicious financial economy. No monarch ever understood the absolute necessity of financial economy and national credit, as indispensable to the maintenance of power and the independency of

The position of Cromwell was very different from either a feudal or absolute monarch. He was a sovereign, but not a hereditary king. The old government had perished, and a new administration had been instituted, and vested in a single person and a parliament. Yet that parliament, although elected on free and unfettered principles, attempted nothing but to restrict, weaken, shackle, and overturn the authority of the chief magistrate; and, if it had not been dissolved, it would probably have plunged the whole kingdom again into an anarchy, which could have only been terminated by establishing either a tyranny of fanaticism, or the despotism of the Stuarts.

The circumstances, therefore, under which Cromwell was surrounded in the year 1655, immediately after the dissolution of the parliament, and the great measures which he conceived within three months after that dissolution, and which were carried triumphantly into effect, afford the most just proofs of his wonderful capacity,—of the fearless energy of his mind, and the extraordinary gifts of his intellect. Upon those remarkable and superior qualities his whole strength stood; for not only the lawyers, but the malcontents in the

a kingdom, better than Frederick, called the Great, of Prussia. He observes, in the introduction to the History of his Own Times, "I know not by what fatality wealth influences all things. Princes are its slaves. The good or the bad condition of their finances may be considered as the pulse of nations, which influences far more than is believed—than is known, both in all political and military operations. The public, who are ignorant of those details, judge only of appearances, and are consequently deceived into erroneous decisions." The reflections of Frederick, in the first chapter of his History of the Seven Years' War, are remarkably profound in respect to financial economy; and he observes elsewhere, that not only during the war of Silesia, but at the time of the seven years' war, the King of Prussia alone, of all the sovereigns of Europe, had a sufficient revenue or treasure to meet all state and military emergencies. This was the chief secret of his success.

army and throughout the nation, were at every step disputing the legality and the authority of his administration. His proceedings at this time have been severely censured by various historians; nor can it be denied that some of his measures may be justly condemned, if they could have been avoided with national security and domestic peace. We believe that he could not have acted otherwise, and preserved England from anarchy, civil war, and a restoration of the Stuarts.

None of his acts appear more reprehensible than the institution of majors-general. This expedient arose from his financial necessities. He was, it is true, at peace with the United Provinces. But the treaty with France had not yet been concluded; the Spaniards had severely oppressed the trade of the British plantations in America; the fleets of Spain, though greatly reduced, were still formidable; rivalry in trade, either in the East or West Indies, might suddenly interrupt the peace with Holland. Flanders and Brabant were still a portion of the dominions of the same Catholic family who held their courts at Madrid and Vienna; and who also held all but territorial dominion over the Milanese and the Italian peninsula. The sagacity and forecast of Cromwell was at all times remarkable, but never more so than at the present dangerous juncture. The Royalist and Republican factions in England either misunderstood the state of the nation, or they corruptly or fanatically disregarded Cromwell's superior ability for government, in order to promote their own personal objects; or, with a view to institute their peculiar theories and illusions, they overlooked, or undervalued, that order and tran-

quillity, which were and are ever necessary for the protection of life and property,—for the uninterrupted pursuits of agriculture, manufactures, navigation, and trade.

Under these circumstances, the Lord Protector determined that the naval power of England should be maintained in the ascendant over that of any other maritime state in Europe; that the discipline, obedience, and force of the army should be supported; that the laws should be enforced; and that the peace of the dwellings, the streets, the fields, and the highways of the United Kingdom, should be saved from the calamities of popular tumults, anarchy, and civil war. Wonderfully did he carry this magnificent policy into execution.

But without an adequate revenue these sublime and wise principles of government could not be administered. The late insurrection was chiefly fomented by the Royalists at home and abroad, concurrently with the discontented Republicans; and although their attempts were vigorously suppressed, the intrigues of the Royalists, in France, Flanders, the German Empire, and in Holland, were unabated and incessant. The Lord Protector therefore resolved to make the estates of the Royalists in England contribute largely to the necessities of the Commonwealth.

He is accused at this time, we think with little just evidence, of having ingeniously contrived to circulate false alarms of invasions and secret conspiracies, in order to justify him in arresting several noblemen and commoners, who were known to be strongly attached to the Stuarts. It is true that he, in order further to enable him to enforce his pro-

jected designs,* ordered no doubt, or at least, probably, as a discreet precaution, Lords Newport, Willoughby of Parham,† and Jeffrey Palmer, an eminent Royalist lawyer, to be committed to the Tower. Lords Lindsey and Lovelace were imprisoned at Banbury; the Marquis of Hertford, and Lords Northampton, Falkland, St. John, Petre, Coventry, Maynard, and Lucas, and from fifty to sixty commoners, were soon after arrested. Lords Rivers and Peterborough were about the same time imprisoned.‡

By a proclamation dated the 6th of July, all Royalists, except those who had a settled residence in London, were ordered to quit the metropolis within six days.§

Towards the end of September, it was resolved by the council that no newspaper should be published without the permission of the secretary of state.‖

* Goodwin, who extols Cromwell as a genius of greater capacity, intellectual power, kindness, and magnanimity, than all other men, yet, from never forgiving him for dissolving the "Rump" of the Long Parliament, joins in this, as well as in many other charges of improbable truth, against the Lord Protector.—See Hist. of the Commonwealth, vol. iv., p. 222.

† Willoughby of Parham was brother-in-law of Whitelock.

‡ Perfect Proceedings, June 13 to July 5; Mercurius Politicus, June 14 to June 28; Perfect Diurnal, July 6; Perfect Account, July 14; Weekly Intelligencer, July 13; Public Intelligencer, October 8.

§ The duration of this order was until the 20th of October following.—*Perfect Account.*

‖ At this period there were eight newspapers, entitled the *Mercurius Politicus*, the *Mercurius Fumigosis* (the latter consisting entirely of compositions of low buffoonery), *Certain Passages*, *Faithful Scout*, *Weekly Intelligencer*, *Perfect Account*, *Perfect Diurnal*, *Perfect Proceedings*. Two of these only opposed the government. The *Public Intelligencer* was started soon after the promulgation of this ordinance. The measure itself has been condemned; and in looking into the character and principles of those journals, we certainly agree that it does not appear to have been a necessary act. The object, no doubt, was to prevent violent and inconvenient observations on the appointments of the majors-general, which were soon after instituted.

This was an arbitrary act, but it is difficult at this time to prove whether the necessities of the state did or did not justify the expedient; yet, about the same time, Lords Northampton, Coventry, and Petre, with all the other state prisoners, who gave their parole not to disturb the government, were released from custody. It is supposed that they were* arrested and imprisoned in order to prepare them for submission to another measure of severity, and released when their opposition was considered no longer dangerous.

In order to enforce the financial exaction of one-tenth part of the value of all the estates of the old Royalists,—especially the Episcopalians, who held possession of the most extensive landed estates in the kingdom, Cromwell divided England into twelve, or rather fourteen, major-generalships. The subaltern officers and soldiers of this new military institution, he judiciously considered it unwise to draft from the ranks of the army. He conceived that the old constitutional militia might now be re-established, and which, to a certain extent, would prove a counterpoise to the disaffected Republicans in the army.

The whole plan was designed with extraordinary secrecy, intelligence, and skill. It was then suddenly carried into effect, first, in the West of England, where General Desborough was appointed major-general of the militia to be raised within the counties of Gloucester, Wiltshire, Somersetshire,

* In the ordinance which was issued, it was ordered that all who had ever borne arms for the king, or declared themselves to be of the Royal party, should be decimated; that is, to pay a tenth part of all the estates which they had left, to support the charge to which the

Dorsetshire, Devonshire, and Cornwall.* On the 9th of August, Fleetwood was appointed major-general of ten districts, including the counties of Cambridge, Essex, Suffolk, Hertford, Norfolk, Bucks, and Oxford, with Colonel Haines as his deputy for the first four shires. The North of England, including Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, Durham, and York, were placed under General Lambert; but his presence being required by the Lord Protector in London, he appointed as his deputies Colonel Charles Howard, afterwards created by Cromwell, Earl of Carlisle, and Colonel Robert Lilburne; the latter for the counties of Durham and York, and the former for the three northern counties. The shires of Leicester, Warwick, Derby, Lincoln, and Nottingham, were placed under the major-generalship of Whalley; Westminster and Middlesex under Colonel Barkstead, Lieutenant of the Tower; London, under Skipton; Berkshire, Hampshire, and Sussex, under that of Goffe; Shropshire, Hereford, Worcester, and North Wales, under that of Colonel James Berry; and Monmouthshire and South Wales, under Admiral Dawkins. The counties of Surrey and Kent formed the major-generalship of Colonel Thomas Kelsey;

Commonwealth was put by the violence of their temper, and the just cause of jealousy which they had administered.

Dr. Lingard contends that this ordinance "was subversive of the Act of Oblivion formerly decreed by Cromwell himself, which pretended to abolish the memory of all past offences." This would have been quite true, if the Royalists had ceased to disturb the country, and if they had not fomented insurrections after the passing of that act.

* Thurloe, vol. iii., p. 486. This force was to consist, in the first instance, of twelve troops of militia, to be exercised and trained in arms.

Staffordshire, Cheshire, and Lancashire, that of Major Worsley; and Northampton, Bedford, Huntingdon, and Rutland, were entrusted to Colonel William Botteler.

It cannot be said of those men, that their religious and political principles rendered them tyrannical or dishonest in the discharge of their official duties. Nor must it be forgotten, in estimating the character and judgment of Oliver Cromwell, that there is no instance of his committing any office of trust or power to a man of immoral or vicious reputation. With respect to the taxes which the majors-general and their subalterns were to levy from the estates of the Royalists, we ought to observe—whether we approve of, or condemn the exaction—that there was a limit to its oppression, which did not extend to reducing any one to poverty, for all Royalists were excepted who did not possess a clear income of 100*l.* a year in land, or 1500*l.* in money.*

The instructions to the majors-general were, to endeavour to suppress all tumults, insurrections, rebellions, and other unlawful assemblies; to draw together their forces and troops, and march them to such places as they should judge convenient; to deprive of their arms all Papists and others who had been in arms against the government, or who were found to be dangerous to the peace of the nation; to require of every head of a family or householder, suspected of disaffection, to give security by bond for the good behaviour of his menial servants; that

* Considering the value of money at this period, the exaction was not equal to that which is annually imposed at the present time, directly or indirectly, on each family in Great Britain. But I do not make this observation to justify an arbitrary or unequal tax.

the names and residences of all persons thus required to give security should be registered in an office instituted for this purpose in London; that every person, whether an Englishman or foreigner, who arrived from beyond the sea, should, within twenty-four hours after his landing, appear before the officer appointed by the major-general of the district, give in his name, the place from whence he came, and whither he intended to proceed; and persons who arrived in London from abroad were to give a similar account at the office of the register. The majors-general were also instructed to inquire into the operations of the ordinance against insufficient and scandalous ministers and schoolmasters, in order that no disaffected person should be allowed the care of education in any district. The powers of the majors-general included also the suppression of houses of ill-fame, gaming-houses, breaches of the peace on high-roads, robberies, and the power of punishing lazy and idle persons, who had no visible means of subsistence.*

Lingard, and other historians condemn the institutions of majors-general as the climax of the absolute government of Oliver Cromwell. We may

* Public Intelligencer, December 17-31; Mercurius Politicus, December 20th—January 5th, 1656; Parliamentary History, vol. xx., p. 461. It would appear that the ordinance for the assessments made by the majors-general on the Royalists was never recorded as a positive law. There are frequent references to it in the order-book of the council, and in the letters of the majors-general. The old militia were the force from which the troops of the majors-general were to be drawn; but it seems they had also a body of reserves on half pay, both horse and foot; and the majors-general were in each case anxious to compose this military force of cavalry rather than foot.—Rushworth, vol ii., p. 9; Thurloe, vol. iv., p. 160-1, and 216; Neale, book iv., chap. iii. There were also voluntary troops of horse who were paid at the rate of 8*l.* a year.—Elenchus, part ii., p. 226; Clarendon, vol. iii., p. 585.

fairly admit that his authority and power never stood higher than during the last six months of the year 1655 and the year 1656.* But if we fairly review the proceedings of the majors-general, we do not find that they acted at any time with the severity which some historians would lead us to imply; for we find that all who were accused were pardoned and set at liberty on very moderate conditions of good behaviour; and considering the Act of Oblivion which was passed as late as February, 1652, it is impossible to justify any outbreak on the part of the Royalists during the three succeeding years. In a declaration justifying the proceedings of the government for securing the peace of the nation after the late insurrection and rebellion, we find offences and treasons committed by the Royalists which would, under the Stuarts, and at all former times in the history of England, and ever since, have cost the rebels not only the loss of the whole of their property, but their lives.

The Lord Protector at the present time practised remarkable forbearance towards the Royalists, and the declaration we have alluded to fully bears out

* Lingard (vol. ii., p. 253) observes, with respect to the institution of majors-general: "This long and sanguinary struggle, originally undertaken to recover the liberties of the country, terminated in the establishment of a military despotism; and the best rights of the people were made to depend on the mere pleasure of an adventurer, who, under the mask of dissimulation, had seized, and by the power of the sword retained, the government of the three kingdoms." He also quotes passages from the correspondence of Sagredo, the Venetian ambassador to the court of the Lord Protector, to show that Cromwell, though he had not the name, yet possessed an authority and a potence without comparison greater than was enjoyed by any king in England, and even greater than that of the most stringent monarchy which at the time existed in the world.—See the extract in the Appendix to this volume.

this remark. It concludes with these words: "If there was yet any person that had been of that party (the Royalist), who could say with truth he was now free of that design, and show by actions previous to the insurrection, and by a disclaiming of the tenor of his former life and conversation; or who, on being now sensible of his error should change and forsake his former interest, and give demonstration to that effect, the government would much more esteem their reformation, than desire their prejudice or harm."

The power of the Lord Protector had now been so strongly established, that the exaction of one-tenth was generally paid with scarcely any refusal to the majors-general. To the general clemency now extended to the rebels there were, however, some arbitrary exceptions; among these were the arrests and imprisonment of Cleveland the poet, and of Jeremy Taylor, the author of *Holy Dying*. The majors-general had power to summon before them as delinquents, any person whom they named. No one dared to disregard their orders; and they had the power of inquiry into every man's estate and income, in order to assess the same at one-tenth of its annual value. They could imprison any one whom they pleased, and confine whom they thought proper, for delinquency. But, notwithstanding those powers to commit acts of the greatest tyranny, it is admitted that the majors-general usually acted with great moderation and equity.*

* Goodwin, and many others who style Cromwell a tyrant, admit this fact.

Before the end of this year, Lord Grey of Groby, and all the other political prisoners, appear to have been liberated; tranquillity was thoroughly restored; and the people in every part of Great Britain resumed, in full security, their peaceful and gainful employments.

CHAPTER VII.

FOREIGN POLICY OF THE LORD PROTECTOR—FRANCE—SPAIN—NAVAL ARCHITECTURE.

It was extremely difficult, if not impossible, for the Lord Protector to maintain friendship with Spain without quarrelling with France. On the other hand, it was utterly impossible to form an alliance with France, or to protect the trade of the British plantations in America and the West Indies, and, at the same time, maintain pacific relations with the court of Madrid.

The King of Spain had not ceased to be represented by his ambassador, Cardennas, at the court of London, from the time of the death of Charles I., until the year 1655. This ambassador, in consequence of some indignity offered him by the late king, continued to cherish a strong animosity towards his family; and always represented at his own court that the government of the Commonwealth was firmly and permanently established. Cardinal Mazarin had not only flattered and courted Oliver Cromwell as Lord General and as Lord Protector; but he zealously intrigued to divert him from an alliance with Spain; and the treaties of peace with the United Provinces, with Portugal and Sweden, together with the complaints of the British

colonists, contributed, with the artful policy of the French statesman, to cause a breach between the government of the Lord Protector and the King of Spain.*

Various historical facts, and, no doubt, his own inclinations, led Cromwell to form an alliance with France, and to declare war against Spain. The latter kingdom was by Englishmen considered the most Popish and persecuting in Europe. The mother of a Queen of England, who had acquired the designation of *bloody*, was the daughter of the King and Queen of Spain, who had established, with all its terrors, the atrocious inquisition. Philipp, King of Spain, was the husband of the so-called Bloody Mary, and the murderous persecutor of the Protestants in the Low Countries. The defeat of the Spanish Armada was proudly regarded as the greatest of all the naval exploits of England. The marriage which had been contemplated between Charles I., when Prince of Wales, and the Infanta of Spain, was in England regarded as a *Popish plot*, and, as such, detested by the Puritans and all other English Nonconformists. The accounts of the cruelties of the Spaniards in the West Indies, in Mexico, and in South America, were circulated, and, if possible, exaggerated in England and Scotland; and were ascribed to the ambition and avarice, to the tyranny and persecution,

* The Dutch, in consequence of the glaring assiduities of the French and Spanish ministers to gain over the Lord Protector to their respective interests, struck a vulgar medallion, representing Cromwell exposing his person in a most insulting position to the ambassadors, and the Spaniard in the act of performing a most degrading ceremony. The French minister stands in the act of pulling him back, desiring him to "retire; that honour is reserved for the king his master." *Retire toi! l'honneur appartient au Roi mon maître.*

of the Romish Hierarchy. From the days in which Hawkins and Drake, and other celebrated English navigators, had made their voyages—the accounts of which were printed and read with avidity in England—the Spaniard was even more detested than the Frenchman, who had long been considered as the natural or hereditary enemy of the English nation. These sentiments, and the powerful fleet which Cromwell possessed at the termination of the Dutch war, and which he had kept not only in thorough repair, but had increased the number of ships, were popular as well as political reasons for declaring war against Spain.*

Nor did he probably overlook that, by invading the Spanish settlements in the West Indies, and by intercepting the richly-laden Spanish galleons, he might so thoroughly fill his treasury as to render himself fiscally independent of the parliament which would meet in the year 1656. He had, even, before the dissolution of the parliament which had assembled in 1654, resolved to send an expedition to the West Indies. He also despatched a fleet to the Mediterranean, under the command of Admiral Blake, who was ordered to proceed to Leghorn, and demand satisfaction of the Grand Duke of Tuscany for indignities and injuries experienced by the English,—first, in consequence of Prince Rupert having been allowed to sell his prizes in the port of Leghorn, and second, on account of the government of Tuscany expelling from that port Commodore

* Yet, so contradictory are human prejudices, that the Republicans and Presbyterians now denounced the policy of making war against Spain instead of France; and Hume and Lingard adhere to the same opinion. *All* in hatred or intolerance to Cromwell.

Appleton, with an English squadron of five ships, in March, 1653, in consequence of which the English ships were captured by a superior Dutch fleet. For these losses, Blake claimed a full indemnity, and the dispute was finally adjusted by the Grand Duke paying 60,000*l.**

Blake then sailed for Algiers, where he arrived on the 10th of March, 1655. He immediately demanded the liberation of all Englishmen who were captured within the territory of the Dey, and the restoration of all ships which had been taken by the Algerine rovers. The Dey, finding it impossible to do so without creating a rebellion, as both the captives and the prizes taken from the English were considered as the private property of the captors, and not of the state, it was settled that all English captives should be redeemed at once for one hundred dollars each, and that ever after no violence whatever should be offered to the persons or ships of Englishmen.†

Blake next sailed towards Tunis, where he was informed by the Dey that the castles of Goletta and Porto Farino would answer his demand. Blake immediately bombarded both castles, reduced them to ruins, and burnt nine ships of war which lay at anchor in the port.

On his arrival at Tripoli, the Dey, terrified at the demolition of the Tunisian castles, and the capture of the Dey's fleet, immediately complied with the demands of the British admiral.

The successes of Blake in the Mediterranean not

* Davis's Civil Wars of England, 340; Elenchus, part ii., p. 203.
† Whitelock, June 8; Clarendon, 510; Perfect Politician, 220-21.

only terrified the piratical states of North Africa, but the dread of the naval armaments of England extended consternation to all the states of Italy.*

The naval expedition which had been fitted out by the Lord Protector, and which sailed to the West Indies under the commands of Penn and Venables, has been severely censured by some of our greatest historians.†

The court of Madrid had taken the greatest pains, by negotiation, to avoid a war with England, and to prevent reprisals in the West Indies. But the power of Spain was at this time rapidly declining, although the pride and the insolence of her court and councils were still as high, and her envy of France and England as great and ridiculous, as during any period of her former grandeur. Catalonia, one of her richest provinces, had joined the French monarchy. The Spanish authority in Naples was undermined by tumults and insurrections.

* Thurloe, vol. i., pp. 232, 718, 724, 761-72; vol. iv., p. 19; Dumont, vol. v., part ii., p. 106.

† Cromwell, for this vigorous exercise of his sovereignty, has been severely condemned by Hume, and even by the ultra-republican historian—Catherine Macaulay. Never does Hume appear more glaringly a superficial inquirer into facts—a fault which he exhibits in so many chapters of his fascinating history—than when he pronounces the armament sent forth by Cromwell against the Spaniards in the West Indies, as a "most unwarrantable violation of all treaty."

Dr. Lingard, after alluding to the treaties of 1604 and 1630, and to the "complaints of depredations committed by the Spaniards on English commerce in the West Indies, and that they were consequently liable to reprisals; that those countries were taken by force from the natives, and that their re-conquest would contribute to the spread of the Gospel among the Indians, and to cramp the resources of Popery in England," then observes, that "such flimsy arguments should satisfy the judgment of the Protector is improbable; his mind was swayed by very different motives,—the prospect of reaping at a small cost an abundant harvest of wealth and glory, and the opportunity of engaging in foreign service the officers of whose fidelity at home he had good reason to be jealous."—*Lingard*, xi., 254-55.

Portugal had rebelled and established the dynasty of Braganza. The Seven United Provinces had, by the treaty of Westphalia, become entirely independent of Spain. The remaining provinces of the Low Countries were now invaded, and in part occupied by a formidable French army; while the Spanish troops, especially the infantry, had lost their former reputation, since their utter discomfiture by a young and inexperienced general, the Prince of Condé, on the fatal field of Rocroi.

There is not any act of the government or policy of Oliver Cromwell which has been more violently attacked, or the facts of which have been so studiously distorted, or more skilfully concealed, than the real grounds and justification for his sending an armament to the West Indies, to invade the Spanish settlements.*

The conduct of the Spaniards, in their conquest of the richest islands and countries of America, was stained throughout by acts of unparalleled atrocity,—by their injustice, cruelty, and treachery to the aboriginal inhabitants,—and further, by their policy on acquiring those dominions, to exclude all other European nations from the soil, trade, navigation, and seas of the Western World. The sovereigns of England had hitherto submitted to this insulting and unjust degradation; and the English navigators, like all traders who ventured to approach the Gulf of Mexico, South America, or the West Indian islands, were punished as interlopers and pirates.

Discovery and conquest was not the only claim

* That celebrated republican lady, Mrs. Macaulay, designates this expedition as "dishonourable and piratical."

urged by the Spaniards,—they held out to Christendom that those regions belonged to Spain by a divine right and power given by the Messiah to St. Peter, who would bind in heaven whatever Peter should bind on earth; and that the Pope, inheriting this infallible prerogative as the successor of St. Peter, granted all the kingdoms of the Western Hemisphere to the King of Spain, in order to *plant Christianity*, and to *exterminate the infidel inhabitants*. The Spaniards, therefore, adhered tenaciously to this pretended and blasphemous right. They seized every vessel they could, belonging to foreign nations, which navigated those seas, and they either murdered the crews, or sent them as slaves to labour in the mines.

We have already observed that Spain endeavoured to exclude from the trade of America the ships of all other nations, and to confine the American navigation to a direct trade between a few ports of Spain and several parts of the continent of America, and the islands of Cuba and Porto Rico.

On the accession of James I., a treaty of amity and peace was concluded between England and Spain; but the stipulations of this convention were not observed by the Spaniards in America, nor even in the trade with Spain; for, in 1606, Don Louis Firardo, the Spanish commodore or admiral, intercepted several English ships laden with corn and bound to Seville. "He took the masters, and first set their necks in the stocks; he afterwards removed them into his own ships, and there with his own hands did as much to their legs, reviling them, and calling them heretics, and Lutheran dogs, and

enemies of Christ, threatening to hang them, and, in conclusion, to rob them of what he thought fit."*

In defiance of the prohibitive policy of Spain, the English were frequently invited to trade by the Spanish authorities, who profited largely by this illicit commerce. On one occasion, twenty-six Englishmen, who had been trading for a whole month in full confidence with the Spaniards, having landed unarmed, were, by the very officers with whom they had been trading, but who dreaded that information might be conveyed to Spain, tied back to back and their throats cut.†

In the year 1629, a fleet of twenty-four ships of the line and fifteen frigates, under the command of Don Frederick de Toledo, attacked the French and English soldiery on the island of St. Christopher. The French escaped to Antigua; the English fled to the mountains, and endeavoured to treat upon conditions for a surrender, but they were compelled to submit unconditionally. Six hundred of the able-bodied men were sent in chains to the mines, and the women and children, with some old men, were sent from the island in English vessels which the Spaniards had seized at Nevis.‡

* Winwood, vol. ii., p. 143; Letter dated Madrid, May, 1606, from Sir Charles Cornwallis to Cecil Lord Salisbury, from whose correspondent it appears clear that several English seamen were intercepted and captured in the West Indies, and murdered or sent to the mines. On the English minister complaining of the conduct of Firardo to the Duke of Lerma, he was insultingly told that Firardo should be called to account, not for sending the captives to the galleys, but for "not having hanged them up as he ought to have done."

† See Birch's Sir Walter Raleigh, and various correspondence in State Papers; Thurloe, vol. i., p. 7 *et seq.*

‡ Bryan Edwards's History of the West Indies, vol. i., p. 145 to 147; Old Miron's British Empire in America; Thurloe, vol. i., p. 750 *et seq.*

In the year 1630 a treaty of peace, amity, and friendship, was ratified between the crowns of England and Spain, and their subjects in all parts of the world. But notwithstanding this convention, oppressions and cruelties continued to be inflicted by the Spaniards on the English traders of Virginia, Bermuda, and Barbadoes; and in the year 1638 they attacked an English colony which had been formed on the small island of Tortuga, and every man, woman, and child in the colony, were indiscriminately murdered. In the year 1650 they assailed the English colony of Santa Cruz, and in like manner exterminated every colonist, including the women and children. The whole island was laid waste; and when, some time afterwards, a few Dutch colonists had there established a settlement, they also were murdered by the Spaniards. In every instance Englishmen who fell into the hands of those merciless assailants—and even those who were saved from shipwreck—were immediately slain, or confined to hard labour for life in the mines of Mexico.*

The English colonists had despaired of receiving any protection either from James I. or from his unfortunate successor; but now that the Lord Protector assumed an attitude of boldness, and displayed a vigorous determination to act with justice to Englishmen, and to demand and enforce justice from all foreign powers, British merchants, shipowners, and colonists, looked up to him as the

* Bryan Edwards's History of the West Indies, vol. i., p. 141 to 149; Thurloe, vol. i., p. 759 *et seq.*; also various representations, afterwards transferred to the old Board of Trade—now either in the State Paper Office, or among the documents delivered some time ago to the United States' Government.

guardian of their rights, and as the sovereign through whom alone they could obtain redress of their wrongs. Numerous memorials were presented to him representing the oppressions and cruelties to which the commerce and colonies of England were subjected by the Spaniards.*

A Mr. Gage, brother of Sir Henry Gage, the Royalist general, who fell at the battle of Culham Bridge in 1644, managed to reside, for some years, in New Spain, under the guise of a Roman Catholic priest, during which time he collected a mass of information, afterwards published by him in England.† He presented a remarkable memorial to the government, urging the English to expel the Spaniards from certain parts of their colonies, in order to avenge the numerous murders of their countrymen.

When all the demands of the Lord Protector upon the Spanish government were rejected—and not until they were rejected — he decided upon attacking the Spanish settlements; and he justly

* See Thurloe Papers, and papers formerly in the Board of Trade Office.

† See copious extracts in Bryan Edwards's History of the West Indies, vol. i., page 14 *et seq.* See also Gage's New Survey of the West Indies. He observes: "I know of no title that the Spaniard hath (the Pope's donation excepted) but force, which by the same title may be repelled. And, as to the first discovery, to me it seems as little reason, that the sailing of a Spanish ship on the coast of India should entitle the King of Spain to that country, as the sailing of an Indian or English ship upon the coast of Spain should entitle either the Indians or English unto the dominion thereof. No question but the just right or title to those countries appertains to the natives themselves; who, if they should willingly and freely invite the English to their protection, what title soever they have in them, no doubt but they may legally transfer to others. But to end all disputes of this nature, since God hath given the earth to the sons of men to inhabit, and that there are many vast countries in those parts not yet inhabited, either by Spaniard or Indian, why should my countrymen—the English—be debarred from making use of that which God, from all beginning, did ordain for the benefit of mankind?"

concluded that the policy and conduct of the Spaniards in the West Indies was nothing less than "*a declaration of perpetual war in America; and when peace was not allowed by the Spaniards, war against them must needs be justifiable.*"*

The expedition which he fitted out, and which sailed under secret orders, consisted of thirty ships of war, 4000 soldiers, and two troops of horse.† The command of these forces was entrusted to General Venables, who was the confidential friend of Cromwell, and had served under him with good reputation in Ireland; and to Admiral Penn, who had distinguished himself under Blake and Monk in the naval battles with the Dutch, and who was the father of the celebrated William Penn.‡ The secret instructions given by the Lord Protector were, to sail first to Barbadoes, and from thence to Hispaniola, or Porto Rico, and to attack the city of St. Domingo, which it was believed might be taken without difficulty, and the whole island speedily conquered. He was then directed to sail to Cuba; and having effected the conquest of the Havannah, to sail to Portobello and to reduce Carthagena, in order to intercept the treasure carried from Peru by the way of Panama.§

* Thurloe State Papers, i., 760, 761; Blome, *apud* Bryan Edwards.

† It is said that some of the land forces were Royalists, but that they were reinforced by two regiments of Cromwell's veteran soldiers. Long's History of Jamaica, i., p. 220; Clarendon, iii., 576; Perfect Politician, 212.

‡ Admiral Penn is said to have been an Anabaptist, and that consequently he must have secretly wished for the downfal of the Lord Protector; and both Venables and Penn are accused falsely of being Royalists, who merely received their appointments to ruin Cromwell, and to bring about the restoration of Charles II. Those assertions are made both by Clarendon and Hume, upon no better authority than that of Dr. John Barwick, a fierce Royalist parson.

§ Burchett's Naval History of England, 385-389.

But the attack on either of the above colonies seems to have been left to the judgment of the commanders and the commissioner who accompanied them.

Those instructions were not to be opened until the expedition arrived at the island of Barbadoes. No armament ever before left England in a more perfect state of preparation.* It only required the Lord Protector himself to command the expedition, to have executed every one of the instructions triumphantly. On the 29th of January, 1655, the fleet with its army arrived safely at Barbadoes; where they found two frigates with several small vessels in frame, which had been sent in advance by Cromwell. Venables was required to levy as many recruits in the islands as were inclined to join the expedition; but as this measure would deprive the planters of their best labourers, it was naturally enough opposed by them.†

The general, however, soon formed a regiment of marines, consisting of Royalists and other slaves, who had been transported to the islands, and who joyously enlisted in this service. The planters also provided an admirable troop of horse at their own expense; and Admiral Penn seized about twenty Dutch vessels which he had found trading in violation of the navigation law of the Long Parliament. On the 31st of March this powerful armament, consisting of about sixty ships, and with about 2000 soldiers on board, exclusive of three troops of cavalry, sailed first to St. Kitt's, where, and at the small neighbour-

* But it would appear that supplies of food, which were to be provided at Barbadoes, not being, when wanted, forthcoming, formed afterwards a cause which essentially enfeebled the expedition.

† Thurloe, iii., 157-159; Clarendon, iii., 577.

ing islands, they were joined by more than 1000 men. The whole armament arrived off St. Domingo on the 14th of April, but instead of attacking and taking that city by one bold action, which, as facts afterwards proved, might have been easily accomplished, a large detachment was landed forty miles to the west, and another about ten miles distant from the town,—and it would appear that neither the general, nor the admiral, nor the chief commissioner, Winslow, who attended the expedition, manifested either that sagacity or bravery which had hitherto distinguished the commanders of the armies and fleets of the Commonwealth. The volunteers were, no doubt, induced to join the expedition by the hopes of plunder; and on Winslow and Venables issuing a proclamation on their landing forbidding any pillage upon pain of death, the greater number of those volunteers laid down their arms, and were only prevailed on to take them up again by the humble entreaties of the general.*

If the fleet had boldly approached St. Domingo, there is little doubt that it might have immediately forced an entrance, and that the place would have surrendered at discretion. But a long march, a sultry climate, and bad water, with the scarcity of provisions, occasioned discontents and discouragements among the troops. Many of them were attacked by fluxes and died; others were surprised and slain by ambuscades. They at length reached the detachment which had landed ten miles west of St.

* Thurloe, 142 to 755; Perfect Politician, 213-14; Carte, Original Letters, ii., 48 and 49; Long, i., 225-27, and vol. iv., p. 28; Davies, p. 340.

Domingo under Colonel Buller, when, after suffering the loss of several men who were surprised by an ambuscade, the Spaniards were routed, and the English might even then have entered the town if they had not been weakened by sickness and fatigue, which compelled them to retreat to the point that was first occupied by Colonel Buller. Here they remained from the 18th to the 25th, when they again marched towards St. Domingo, but falling in a narrow defile into another ambuscade, the forlorn hope in advance fell back upon the cavalry, and the latter upon Venables' regiment. The whole army seemed on the verge of destruction, but it was saved by a skilful manœuvre made by Major-General Heane, the seçond in command, who outflanked the Spaniards; but in which this gallant officer and many of his most able lieutenants were slain in the onslaught.

The failure of this armament is to be attributed either to the jealousies of the admiral and general, or to the incapacity of both, as well as to the imprudence of the lord commissioner, who fell a victim to the climate; and partly to the sufferings of the forces, from the want of good water, and a supply of wholesome food. Under these circumstances, returning to England without accomplishing any part of the instructions which they had received from the Lord Protector, was disheartening and dishonourable to both the admiral and general; while, the soldiers and sailors who had composed this formidable armament felt deeply the disgrace of returning to face the English nation and their sovereign, who had hitherto been accustomed to rejoice,

with pride, in the triumphs of the naval expeditions of England.

A council of war was held; the army was purged by hanging several offenders and cowards; and a number of women who had managed to follow the troops from Barbadoes were arrested and punished. It was then resolved to make a descent upon the island of Jamaica, where the armament arrived on the 12th of May, to the surprise and terror of the inhabitants, who had received no previous tidings of the invasion of St. Domingo. The British forces landed five miles from the chief town, and, instead of marching at once, agreeably to the general feeling of the troops, Venables remained inactive until the following day, when he found the town deserted by every man, woman, and child, and that every valuable article which could be carried away had been removed to the mountains.

A capitulation followed, and the Spaniards surrendered the whole island to the English.* At this time Jamaica was not considered a conquest of great value. The whole population, including women and children, did not exceed 1500 persons; and those under arms to not more than 500 soldiers. According to an account of the island, published in 1672, it is asserted that the town of St. Jago de la Vega contained two churches, two chapels, an abbey, and 2000 houses. The churches and abbey certainly existed at the conquest, but the number of houses

* Burchett's Naval History of Great Britain, p. 385 to 389 *et seq.*; Perfect Politician, p. 212 *et seq.*; Thurloe, iii., p. 142 to 650; Clarendon, iii., p. 576 *et seq.*; Thurloe, vol. iv., p. 25 *et seq.*; Long's History of Jamaica, vol. i., p. 223, vol. ii., p. 227; Carte, ii., 48 and 49; Davies, p. 346; Statements made by Venables and Penn.

are probably exaggerated. There was another settlement at Puerto de Caguya, now Port Royal, but it seems to have been an inconsiderable place. There were several hamlets on the island, but the sea-coast was chiefly under pastures, on which herds of horned cattle fed; the other parts of the island abounded with horned cattle and horses, and the slaughtering of cattle afterwards became profitable for their hides and tallow, which the colonists exported in large quantities.

On the return of Venables and Penn to England (the latter arrived nine days before the former), Cromwell was enraged with disappointment, and committed them both to the Tower.* He altogether undervalued the conquest of Jamaica. It was natural that he should do so, for he was ignorant of its resources, and it never had been held in great estimation by the Spaniards, while Hispaniola, Cuba, and Carthagena, had been famed for their abundance of the precious metals. He, however, resolved to make the most of the conquest of Jamaica, which proved really more valuable to England, from its being afterwards attended with less expense than would have attended the retention of the populous islands of Hispaniola and Cuba.†

In order to prepare for future attacks on the Spanish settlements, he resolved to encourage to the uttermost the settlement, and to increase the population of Jamaica. He sent a thousand young Irish

* Bates, 367. Venables and Penn resigned their commissions, and were then discharged.

† Carte's Letters, 42-46; Thurloe; Council Book, 1655, October 26th and 31st.

girls, and a thousand Irish youths, to that island, in the year 1656, nor did he neglect such other measures as appeared to him calculated to encourage the cultivation and improvement of the colony.*

The opponents of Cromwell, and especially the Republican saints, considered the failure and disgrace of the expedition against Hispaniola as a signification of the Divine wrath against the policy of the Lord Protector. He was attacked by Royalists, Levellers, Anabaptists, and Republicans; and many of them who were officers, and some of them captains, in the fleet at Portsmouth, threw up their commissions, and refused to sail in the fleet under the joint command of Blake and Montague,†

* Lingard, vol. xi., p. 260, says that they were forcibly sent away. This was probably the case with regard to those who had been sent previously from Ireland to Barbadoes. The authorities of Lingard, I find, are not always to be depended upon. Sir William Petty, however, who may be considered trustworthy, says in his work on Ireland, p. 187, "6000 boys and women were altogether sent away,"—that is, from the first to the last deportation. Lynch, author of Cambrensis Eversus, *apud* Lingard, says that they were sold for slaves. Dr. Lingard, who so frequently gives the mysterious authority of "a paper" or "a letter in my possession," of which the world never heard, or saw, and consequently cannot rely upon, says: "In a letter in my possession, written 1656, it is said, 'Catholicos pauperes plenis navibus mittunt in Barbadoes, et insulas Americæ. Credo jam sexaginta milla abivisse. Expulsis enim ab initio in Hispaniam et Belgium maritis, jam uxores et proles in Americam destinantur.'"

Thurloe (vol. iv., p. 23), alluding to the removal of the boys and girls from Ireland, observes, "That it would be much for their own good, and likely so great an advantage to the public, that it would be desirable the Lord Protector should send as many as he thought fit." He observes again (p. 75), that "the Committee of Council had ordered 1000 girls and as many youths to be taken up for that purpose."

In 1656 Cromwell ordered that all female prostitutes in London should be arrested and shipped for Barbadoes, and it appears that 1200 were sent to that island in three different ships.

† Dr. Lingard says (vol. xi., p. 284): "Montague possessed the Protector's confidence, and was probably employed as a spy on the conduct of his colleague." This is an error as far as it represents Montague to be a spy, for Blake, who had been ordered to cruize off the mouth of the straits, and off the Bay of Cadiz, for the purpose of intercepting the Spanish galleons, had remained there during the winter

which was destined against Cadiz and the Spanish galleons.

On signing the treaty with France on the 24th of October, 1656, to which we will hereafter refer, the Spanish ambassador received his passport and left London, after delivering a complaint from Philipp, King of Spain, who was then engaged in a war with France, and who inveighed against what he termed the insolent and unprovoked affront which he had received from the Lord Protector by the expedition he had sent from England to the West Indies. He also protested that Philipp had received injury and injustice from the English government, while he had himself adhered to the treaties between the two countries; and therefore he ordered that all ships belonging to the Commonwealth should be seized and confiscated in every port of the Spanish dominions.*

When Blake and Montague sailed in command of the fleet from England, they were instructed to destroy the shipping in the port of Cadiz,—to attempt the capture of that city, and, if not successful, to make an attempt upon the fortress of Gibraltar. When the fleet arrived off Cadiz, on the 20th of April, the admirals were unable to procure

with little success, and not being able to endure so tedious and undistinguished an employment, and his health suffering, he wrote home that his health was declining under the constant watchfulness which devolved on him, and he begged that a colleague should be sent to share the responsibility, as well as the labours of watching the port of Cadiz. Cromwell, therefore, instead of sending Edward Montague, of whom we will have occasion to speak afterwards, as a spy, sent him out as one in whom he had great confidence himself, and whom he knew would enjoy the respect and confidence of Admiral Blake.—Thurloe; Collins' Peerage of England.—See note, Appendix.

* Thurloe, vol. iv., 19-20, 82-91. I think I have sufficiently proved in the text that those treaties were never observed by the Spaniards in America.

a pilot to guide the ships up the crooked channel of the Carraccas, leading to that city, the fortress of which, as well as that of Gibraltar, was too formidable to be taken without the co-operation of an army on land.

Blake and Montague then sailed to Lisbon, where they compelled the King of Portugal to ratify the treaty, which had formerly been concluded at London by the Condé del Sa, and after receiving payment of 50,000*l.*, the sum stipulated in the treaty, they returned southwards.

Notwithstanding the former vigilance of Blake, the River Plate fleet entered the Bay of Cadiz in March, 1656. The admirals with their ships now sailed southwards, entered the Mediterranean, battered Malaga, and then proceeded to chastise the piratical states of Africa. The ships being soon after in want of repair, and short of water, Blake and Montague sailed out of the Mediterranean, and then to the coast of Portugal, leaving Captain Stayner, with six or seven large frigates, blockading the port of Cadiz. A Spanish fleet had sailed some time before, richly laden with precious metals from the Havannah. On board of one of these ships was the Marquis de Vaydes, with his wife and seven children, the youngest of whom was only one year old, and the eldest, a daughter, who was affianced to the Duke of Medina Celi. De Vaydes, in order to repair a ruined fortune, had been appointed governor of Chili, and after nine years' service in that state had been appointed Viceroy of Peru, the government of which he administered for fourteen years, and, after accumulating an enormous fortune,

returned by way of Panama and Cuba towards Spain.

This fleet, on approaching the coasts of Europe, met with, and captured, a Portuguese ship,—the captain of which informed them that the English fleet that had blockaded Cadiz had been driven off by a Spanish fleet, and had retreated to England. The galleons then sailed without fear for the port of Cadiz, and mistaking the English frigates at a distance through the mist for Spanish fishing vessels, they continued their course onward among the English frigates, when at length a furious attack was commenced upon them by Captain Stayner, and, after much slaughter, the ship which conveyed the Marquis de Vaydes and his family took fire; his wife, eldest daughter, and one of his sons perished in the flames, and the marquis himself, disdaining to escape, also perished with the ship, which soon after sunk. The English, however, before the vessel went down, had taken out most of her gold and silver. The rear-admiral's ship, and another ship, richly laden, were also taken. Of the remaining vessels two were burnt, one sunk, and one—that of the admiral—escaped.* The value of the treasure was estimated as 1,000,000*l.* sterling of the money of that period. It was probably less than half that amount.

Admiral Montague returned to England with this treasure, and arrived with it, and with the remaining members of the family of the Spanish viceroy, in safety at Portsmouth. The treasure was conveyed in waggons to London, and through the city to the Tower, and then speedily coined into English money

* Thurloe, vol. vi., p. 334 to 400.

to provide for the necessities of state. The family of the Spanish viceroy were treated with the greatest kindness by the Lord Protector, and he sent them safely back to their own country,* while this victory effaced in a great degree the abortive attempt on the island of Hispaniola.

* Journals; Thurloe, vol. iv., p. 571; Carte's Original Letters, p. 87 to 95, and 114; Thurloe, vol. i., pp. 726-30; vol. v., pp. 67-133, 257 to 286, and 399 to 524. Thurloe estimated the specie at 250,000*l.* to 300,000*l.* sterling; and a Colonel White says the pigs of silver weighed 40,000 lbs., besides which there were several chests of wrought plate.

CHAPTER VIII.

NEGOTIATIONS WITH FRANCE—LOUIS XIV.—MAZARIN—THE WALDENSES.

It was generally believed in England that, from the circumstance of the royal family of France being nearly related to that of England, it was impossible that any generous sentiment could be entertained, either by Mazarin or by Louis XIV., in favour of the Commonwealth; and the commercial war, which was commenced before the death of Charles I., by the French government prohibiting the importation of English woollens and silks into France, was considered as a manifestation both of the feeling of the court and of the whole nation. England, in retaliation, prohibited the importation of French woollens, silks, and wine; and a breach of these trading restrictions was attended with the capture and confiscation by each nation of the vessels and merchandise of the other. The trade of both countries was consequently exposed to constant aggression. The Commonwealth government not only issued letters of marque, but gave instructions to the admirals to

seize the ships of the French king, or any of his subjects.*

As early as the year 1651, and immediately after the battle of Worcester, Cromwell unwisely aspired to possess Dunkirk, as an inlet or port to the continent; and he is accused of having attempted to bribe D'Estrades, the governor of that fortress and port, at the time that Cardinal Mazarin had been banished from France. It seems that D'Estrades, with dignity, rejected the offer; but intimated to the officer, one of Cromwell's regiment, who had proposed it, that if the Commonwealth were anxious to possess Dunkirk, a direct proposal might be addressed to the French king. This offer was made in the year 1654, and was discussed in the royal council at Poitiers, in which the acceptance of the offer was supported by Cardinal Mazarin, on the ground of the king's then necessities. But, in consequence of the dread expressed by the queen-mother of giving any footing on the continent to the English, the proposal was rejected.†

France, however, soon after lost Dunkirk, which was invested by the Spanish, aided by the Irish Catholics, who were allowed by Cromwell to enlist

* Thurloe, vol. i., p. 144, in which he states that Popham received the following instructions: "In respect that many of the English so supplied are not able to undergo the charges of setting forth of ships of their own, as authorised in such letters of marque, you are directed to seize such vessels of the French king as you shall think fit, and the same keep in your custody, until the parliament declare their further resolutions concerning the same."

† Heath, p. 325; Thurloe, p. 214; Whitelock, p. 543. Louis XIV. himself observes, in the works attributed to him (vol. i., p. 170), that Mazarin had a maxim—"De pourvoir à quelque prix qu'il fût aux affaires presentes—persuadé que les maux à venir trouveroient leur remède dans l'avenir même."

in the service of foreign princes. The surrender of Dunkirk to the Spaniards would have been prevented, had not Blake, on the day before, chased and captured a French squadron of seven ships of war, laden with provisions and other stores for the relief of that fortress. But, notwithstanding this fact, and the depredations on French commerce, Mazarin sent over Bourdeaux as ambassador from France to the court of the Lord Protector, in December, 1654; and Louis XIV. found his affairs so desperate, that he addressed Oliver Cromwell as "*Monsieur le Protecteur*," &c.*

It was then that the great diplomatic rivalry commenced between the French and Spanish ambassadors in their endeavours to secure the friendship of the Lord Protector. Cromwell understood his situation—and the Kings of France and Spain fully appreciated the might of England under its vigilant and triumphant sovereign, although this sovereign was an usurper—and was fully aware that he held the balance of power between those rival nations; and he did not hesitate to procrastinate the conclusion of the proposed treaty with France, although he had resolved, but had not yet declared, war against Spain. The negotiations with France were further procrastinated

* Cromwell refused the appellation of "Mon Cousin," and at last Louis called the Lord Protector "Mon Frère."—Siècle de Louis XIV, vol. i., p. 271. The words of Voltaire are—"Le Protecteur traita d'égal à égal; il força le roi à lui donner le titre de frère dans ses lettres. Son secrétaire signa avant le plénipotentiaire de France, dans la minute du traité qui resta en Angleterre; mais il traita veritablement en supérieur, en obligeant le Roi de France de fair sortir de ses états Charles II. et le Duc d'Yorck, petit-fils de Henry IV., à qui la France devait un asile. On ne pouvait faire un plus grand sacrifice de l'honneur à la fortune."—See note, Appendix.

during the sitting of the Protector's first parliament.*

Between that kingdom and the Commonwealth government hostilities were still continued, and many French merchant vessels, with their cargoes, were captured by the ships of war and vessels bearing letters of marque, under the English flag. But such was the condition of France at this period, in consequence of internal disorders and civil war, that, although Louis XIV., in the pride of his haughty temper, was bitterly mortified by those insults, yet both he and his minister condescended, from motives of discretion, to court the friendship of the sovereign of England; than whom, at this time, certainly no monarch stood in a higher position before the princes of Europe; and perhaps at no former period could the British Empire be pronounced in a more flourishing condition. "Never," says the eulogistic historian of Louis XIV., "was the commerce of England so free and so flourishing; never had England been so wealthy; her victorious fleets made her name respected on every sea; while, at the same time, Mazarin, always disposed to domineer over others, and to enrich himself, allowed justice, commerce, the marine, and the finances of France to languish. Master at this time of France, after the civil war, as Cromwell was of England, he might have done for the country which he governed what Cromwell had done for his own. But Mazarin

* Thurloe, vol. i., pp. 436, 700; Whitelock, pp. 543, 548.
It is said that Mazarin sent one of his creatures, a M. de Baas, under pretence of aiding the French ambassador, M. de Bourdeaux, to intrigue with the malcontents in England. Cromwell, having discovered this perfidy, ordered De Baas immediately to leave England.—Thurloe, vol. ii., p. 309 to 351.

was a foreigner, and his soul, which had not the rudeness, wanted the grandeur of that of Cromwell."*

Cromwell was thoroughly informed of the situation of France, and this knowledge enabled him to procrastinate the signing of the treaty which Mazarin had so earnestly desired, in order to detach him from Spain, and to engage England in a war against that nation. Spain had offered to assist the Lord Protector, in reconquering Calais for England. Mazarin offered to cede Dunkirk to the Commonwealth. Holland and the Protestant states of Europe had already pledged their alliance, offensive and defensive, to England. Even the King of Denmark, who was so nearly related to the Stuarts, and who had detained and confiscated several English vessels and English merchandise during the Dutch war, in consequence of his alliance with the United Provinces, gave satisfaction to Cromwell for those insults and losses. Queen Christina of Sweden, who detested the execution of Charles I., entered into an alliance with an usurper, whose military and political abilities she admired. In short, every state in Europe which had neglected or despised an alliance with England during the reigns of James I. and Charles I., now intrigued for that alliance with the court of an usurper, who practically ruled as a powerful king.†

* Siècle de Louis Quatorze, tome i., p. 270. Twentieth of the edition of the Complete Works of Voltaire, 1785. Voltaire further remarks: "Toutes les nations de l'Europe, qui avaient négligé l'alliance de l'Angleterre sous Jacques I. et sous Charles I., la briguèrent sous le Protecteur. La Reine Christine elle même quoiqu'elle eût détesté le meurtre de Charles I., entra dans l'alliance d'un tyran qu'elle estimait." Christina is supposed to have been the Bellipotens Virgo of Milton.

† See Clarendon's State Papers; Maseres' Collection of Tracts; Siècle de Louis XIV., vol. i., p. 270.

A new field of action now presented its religious and fascinating temptations. Oliver Cromwell had always admired the character and the exploits of Gustavus Adolphus. That hero was no more, except in history, and in the sentiments which his fame still continued to inspire. With his other ambitious designs, the Lord Protector now combined that of aspiring to become the champion or the chief of all the Protestants of Christendom—a rank and dignity which he in all probability would have attained had he lived after the events of the two following years. This design was eminently favoured by circumstances. In no policy could Cromwell have rallied in his favour so generally the inhabitants of Great Britain. An event to which we have already adverted, now occurred, which was not only especially favourable to his views, but which enabled him to protract the conclusion of the treaty with France, until he had embodied in its stipulations articles or provisions favourable to the Protestants. That event, according to an English historian, "was called by the Protestants 'the massacre;' by the Catholics, 'the rebellion,' of the Vaudois."*

There were introduced among the inhabitants of the woody valleys of Piedmont the reformed doctrines which, during the thirteenth century, had been adopted by an association at Lyons.† The Waldenses were a rude, hardy people; and it was

* Lingard, vol. xi., p. 261.

† "These were," says Dr. Lingard, "the peculiar doctrines of the '*poor men* of Lyons,' which in the thirteenth century penetrated into the valleys of Piedmont, where they were cherished in obscurity till the time of the Reformation, and were then exchanged in a great measure for the creed publicly taught at Geneva."—Vol. xi., p. 261.

even asserted that they had never relapsed unto the Romish Church, and that they had derived from their ancestors, who were primitive Christians, the simple form of devotion under which they worshipped the Almighty. The accounts of the persecution, or war of the Waldenses, which happened in the middle of the seventeenth century, are remarkably contradictory. It would appear that the Dukes of Savoy had, by frequent grants, secured to the Waldenses the freedom of worshipping according to their own creed, within certain limits among the valleys and in the mountains, and that they were confined to the four districts named Angrogna, Bobbio, Rorata, and Villaro. It was now complained that they extended their settlements beyond those limits into the plain or valley of Lucerna, in which were the most southerly of their villages. This later valley is watered by the river Pelice. On its northern bank stood the villages or settlement of St. John and La Torre; and it was contended at Turin that the inhabitants of those places, as well as on the north of the Pelice, were trespassers, and that their religion should not be suffered to be exercised in any part of the valley of Lucerna. Their case was referred by the court to Andrea Gastaldo, a civil lawyer, who decided that the whole valley of Lucerna, and some other districts inhabited by the Waldenses, were situated beyond the original limits of the boundaries to which their religion was circumscribed;* and it is asserted by Catholic writers

* This is the decree of Gastaldo, *apud* Morland's History of the Evangelical Church in the Valleys of Piedmont, in which are also to be found what are considered the legal objections to this decree.

that, on being ordered to quit their habitations, and to remove from those places, they were allowed to sell all their effects, and even the lands which they had cultivated, although the latter were the rightful property of the Duke of Savoy.

The Waldenses were considered by the Calvinists the descendants of those who had never departed from the simple doctrines and worship of the primitive Christians. It is certain that they resolved to resist their removal from the districts which they inhabited, and in which were the churches and the burial-places of their ancestors. Among other accusations, they were charged with the murder of a priest, who was found dead in his bed; and with having on Christmas-day, 1654, led in procession an ass, accompanied by a boisterous rabble with trumpets, drums, and fifes, in order blasphemously to insult and contemn the holy procession of the Host, or *Corpus Christi*, which was celebrated on the same day in the Roman Catholic villages of Piedmont. It is probable that a rude and ill-educated peasantry, fanatically attached to the creed of Geneva, might have contemptuously formed such an insulting procession; and it is likely that their sentiments were not more tolerant towards the Papists than were those of the Calvinists of Geneva, who had witnessed without remorse the burning alive of Servetus. But this manifestation of religious or intolerant feeling can by no means justify the severity of the order issued

Lingard coincides with the former, observing that the Vaudois were a race of "hardy, stubborn, half-civilised mountaineers, whose passions were readily kindled, and whose resolves were violent as they were sudden."—Vol. xi., p. 262.

by the court of Turin, which, with only three days' notice, required them to leave their valleys by the 25th of January, 1655, unless they immediately conformed to the Roman Catholic worship. This cruel order, in the depth of winter, is attributed to the mother of the duke — the Dowager-Duchess of Savoy, sister of Henrietta, Dowager-Queen of England, and consequently the aunt of Charles II. and the Duke of York.

The Waldenses naturally resisted their expulsion from the land and places which they had inhabited for many ages, and they sent for aid to Geneva, and to the other Protestant cantons of Switzerland. They petitioned the Duke of Savoy for that protection which they had enjoyed under his predecessors. They received no reply. Those who dwelt on the south of the Pelice retired to the north, where they established themselves, and formed a garrison for their defence in the villages of La Torre and St. John. The prime minister of the duke—Pianeze —resolved to dislodge them. He marched with an armed force in the month of April into Angrogna, Bobbio, and Villaro, but the inhabitants retreated with their cattle and their effects to the mountains, although in some places a few remained. Between the latter and the soldiery quarrels broke forth, in which the military gained the advantage; and on the 21st of April the whole population of Lucerna, including men, women, and children, not even excepting pregnant mothers, were massacred by their bloodthirsty assailants. Their churches were burnt, and their houses were destroyed, and the atrocities committed by those murderers, and the violations of

the persons of the Waldenses, are so loathsome and revolting as to render their description indecent.*

When the accounts of those barbarities were transmitted to Geneva, England, and the other Protestant countries of Europe, a most enthusiastic sympathy was generally manifested for the Waldenses, and by none more than Oliver Cromwell, who immediately aided those who survived with money,† and, without delay, entered into negotiations for their deliverance with Louis XIV. and his cardinal prime minister.

The armies in Scotland and Ireland offered the Lord Protector to shed their blood in the cause of the Waldenses. Every sermon preached from the Protestant pulpits,—every organ of public opinion,—urged him to become the defender of the Protestants on the continent of Europe. All ranks, from the highest to the lowest, sent in their contributions in money; and even the Spanish ambassador, in order to divert Cromwell from the French alliance, endeavoured to enlist the prejudices, as well as the zeal, of the people against the Duke of Savoy.‡

The Lord Protector not only offered to defend the Waldenses in their own country, but he also

* See Morland's History of the Evangelical Churches, and Leger, Histoire des Eglises Vaudoises, in which, vol. ii., p. 38, is the original treaty of the Duke of Savoy with the Waldenses in 1501. Stouppe, Collection of Several Papers sent to his Highness. London, 1665. See also Siri; Firenzi, 1682, tome xv., pp. 327, 827-843; Thurloe, vol. iii., p. 413 to 536.

† Cromwell at once contributed 2000*l.* from his own purse, and 38,000*l.* more was collected in a short time.—*Note to Burton.*

‡ The Spanish ambassador and Stouppe (the latter was the minister of the French Church in London) asserted, according to Thurloe and Siri, that the greatest cruelties were committed by a troop furnished by the King of France to his ally, the Duke of Savoy. The truth is, that those troops were part of the Earl of Bristol's regiment in the

offered to bring them away, at the public expense, and to settle them freely on the confiscated lands of the Catholics in Ireland. They, however, were so deeply attached to their native valleys and mountains, that they respectfully declined his generous proposal, and thanked him, with the warmest gratitude, for the assistance which he promised to render them against the cruel oppressions of a tyrant.

Cromwell sent Morland* as his ambassador to Turin and Rivoli, where he was courteously received; but to the memorial which he addressed in favour of the Waldenses, he received an unsatisfactory reply, under the pretence of an *informality;* and, on the time limited by Cromwell having expired, he left Turin, and retired to Geneva, until he received further instructions from England.

The Lord Protector now resolved to send a more imposing embassy to the Duke of Savoy, consisting of Downing, who was connected with his household, and who seems to have had his full confidence, and of Morland, and Pell, the English resident at Zurich, to whom were added an ambassador from the States-General.

In his negotiations with France, many obstacles

French service, most of whom were English Royalists.—Thurloe, vol. iii., p. 50. Stouppe was a Grison. He left the Church for the army, and became a brigadier-general in the French service. Burnet says he was much trusted in foreign affairs by Cromwell. He dedicated to the Lord Protector "A Collection of the Several Papers sent to his Highness the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, containing the bloody and barbarous massacres, murthers, and other cruelties committed on many thousands of Reformed or Protestants dwelling in the valleys of Piedmont, by the Duke of Savoy's forces, joined therein with the French army and several Irish regiments. Published by command of his Highness."

* Morland was under-secretary to Thurloe, and a man of sagacity and learning.

and subterfuges were presented. But Cromwell frankly informed Bourdeaux that he would never sign a treaty until the King of France compelled the Duke of Savoy to give satisfaction for the atrocities which he had committed on the Waldenses.

Bourdeaux, however, contended that the case of the Waldenses could bear no relation to the projected treaty; and while he apologised for the irregularity of some French troops having been engaged along with those of the Duke of Savoy, he held that the latter was a sovereign prince, with whose Protestant subjects the King of France could no more interfere than he could in favour of the Catholics in England, Scotland, or Ireland; that the King of France might entreat and advise, and no doubt he would, with the Duke of Savoy in favour of the Waldenses, but that he could do no more; and, finally, that the Waldenses were not chastised as Catholics, but as rebellious subjects.

The Lord Protector was not to be diverted from his policy or designs by these assertions. He expressed his conviction that the Duke of Savoy would immediately obey any remonstrance which the King of France would make; and, that the redress of the evils which the Waldenses had suffered, and full security for the future protection and freedom of their religion, must be a *sine quâ non* of any treaty or alliance with France.

Meantime, Cromwell resolved to obtain that redress and that protection independently of Louis XIV.* The Protestant cantons of Switzerland had

* Burnet; Thurloe, pp. 528, 608, 636, 656, and 672. Milton, as Latin secretary, wrote letters in the Protector's name (dated *Albâ Aulâ*, May, 1655) to the Duke of Savoy, the Prince of Transylvania,

offered him an army to march in defence and support of the Waldenses, on being paid a subsidy of 10,000*l.* per month, and Downing was instructed to make arrangements accordingly at Geneva.

Mazarin, however, on learning from his minister at London the determination of Cromwell, instructed the French ambassador at Turin to make arrangements with the Duke of Savoy in favour of the Waldenses, before the arrival of the English and Dutch ambassadors;* — and the Duke of Savoy entered at once into the views of Mazarin. In August, 1655, a pacification was concluded at Pinerolo, which was accepted by the Waldenses, on their being granted a full amnesty, and the confirmation of their ancient political and religious privileges. Mazarin immediately communicated to the Lord Protector that the King of France had obtained this pacification, which had been gratefully received by the Waldenses, and that, in their native valleys, the Catholics and Protestants had met and sworn to live in perpetual love and peace together, and had embraced each other with tears.†

Before all Europe the Lord Protector now enjoyed the dignified honour and reputation of having ob-

the King of Sweden, the Protestant Swiss Cantons, the King of Denmark, the King of France, and Cardinal Mazarin. See "Literæ Conscriptæ a Joanne Miltino" (1676), pp. 85, 100, 103, 104, 108, 110, 130, 133. Mr. Morland published in 1658 a "History of the Evangelical Churches of the Valleys of Piedmont." This work is controversial rather than historical. Whitelock says, p. 629, "The Protector appointed a solemn day of humiliation to be kept, and a large contribution to be gathered, throughout the nation."

* Morland, p. 641.

† Thurloe, vol. iii., pp. 469-745; Siri, 15-843. By the Instrument of Pacification, the Duke of Savoy speaks of himself as a prince who, in his "gracious mercy, forgave his offending and rebellious subjects." —Morland, p. 653.

tained the redress and protection which was at length confirmed to the Waldenses; although Mazarin had intrigued to claim that honour for Louis XIV. Cromwell felt mortified that Cardinal Mazarin, whose vanity was unbounded, had anticipated the embassy from England; and he required Lockhart, his ambassador at Paris, to insist upon a more perfect restoration of the privileges of the Waldenses.*

The negotiations were then resumed for completing the treaty of peace and alliance with France. But a dispute of formality next arose. The Lord Protector insisted, in consequence of the former style of the Kings of England, which included the title of "King of France," that Louis XIV. should be styled in the treaty "King of the French;" while the French ambassador contended, that as the Lord Protector had with excellent taste omitted "France" in his own title, there could now be no pretence for introducing the proposed form in a new treaty. Cromwell, however, persisted; and when the articles of the treaty were all agreed to, and stipulated as between the Commonwealth of England and the Kingdom of France, and in none of which either Louis XIV. or the Lord Protector are named, Bourdeaux found that the usual title of his master, *Rex Galliarum*, was changed to *Rex Gallorum*. This was the same title as that which was adopted by the national assembly in respect to Louis XVI., and which Louis Philippe afterwards bore. Bourdeaux, in conse-

* The despatches of Cromwell's secretary, Thurloe, having on one occasion arrived at night, and being so urgent on the question of the Waldenses, Lockhart went immediately to Mazarin and the queen, who at once called a cabinet council, when certain orders sent to Turin, which were not sufficiently positive, were revoked, and others despatched.—Sloane, MS., No. 4460, p. 41.

quence, refused to sign the treaty; but he ultimately yielded to the persuasions of the Dutch ambassador.*

In this treaty, which was signed on the 3rd of November, it was stipulated that Charles II., the Duke of York, Ormond, Hyde, Massey, Middleton, and several other adherents of the Stuarts,† were to be immediately excluded from France, and that Barrière, the minister of the Prince of Condé, and nine other Frenchmen, should be perpetually excluded from the dominions of the Commonwealth. It was provided that Louis XIV. in his letters should address the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth as "Mon Frère"—"My Brother,"—that the maritime warfare between England and France should cease,—and that amity and commerce should be resumed and promoted between the two nations. There were many other stipulations in this treaty. One hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds were demanded as compensation for the losses inflicted upon British trade by French aggressors. The question of the amount to be paid was first to be referred to commissioners, and then to the arbitration of the senate of Hamburgh.‡ It was also provided that the effects of British subjects dying in France should not be subject to the

* Thurloe, vol. iv., p. 115. See copy of the treaty in Latin, with the title *Rex Gallorum*, in Dumont. In the copies translated into French, Louis is styled "*Roi de France*," &c.

† Sir John Culpepper, Lord Gerrard, Daniel O'Neal, Lord Wilmot, Sir Marmaduke Langdale, Sir Edward Nicholas, Lord Wentworth (eldest son of the Earl of Cleveland), Sir Richard Greenville, Sir Francis Doddington, Sir John Barkley, the Lord Belasis, O'Sullivan Beare, and Lord Muskerrie the elder.

‡ So provided for in the 24th article of the treaty. See Dumont, Corps Universel Diplomatique, tome vi., p. 11. This treaty is remarkably clear in every one of its 28 articles. The 12th provides against the *Droit d'Aubaine*.

atrocious *Droit d'Aubaine.* Lockhart, a man of the most sound judgment, intelligence, and discretion, was commissioned as the ambassador of the Lord Protector to the court of France, where he was received with great distinction.

Dunkirk was not named in the treaty, but it was separately agreed to invest that city and port, and, on conquering it from the Spaniards, to transfer it to the Lord Protector.

The King of Spain, indignant and mortified at the expedition which was sent against the Spanish West Indies, and enraged at the ratification of the treaty between England and France, laid an embargo on all British property in Spanish ports. Cromwell considered this proceeding as a declaration of hostilities against England. He braved all the opposition of the Royalists and Republicans, at home and abroad,—who complained of the French alliance. He assumed with respect to the Protestants of Europe the personification of the principles of Gustavus Adolphus.* Cardenas, the Spanish ambassador, was requested to leave England, and on the 23rd of October, the day after his departure, the Lord Protector published a declaration, enumerating the just causes of the Commonwealth for declaring war at this time against Spain.†

* If Cromwell had lived sufficiently long, it is probable that the Edict of Nantes would not have been revoked. If it had not, France would in all probability have long before now have been as well prepared for practical legislative government, and for civil, political, and religious liberty, as Great Britain is at the present day.

† Thurloe, vol. iv., pp. 21, 100, 117, and 739. This declaration is attributed by Birch to Milton. But this has been doubted. It is remarkable that it should have been published in the reign of George I., in 1738, for the express purpose of exciting the passions of the English in the war then declared against Spain.

Active preparations were, in consequence, immediately made to increase the force of the navy; and the nation was justly proud of the formidable fleet which was now commanded by Blake and Montague. The energy, skill and capacity of the Lord Protector in governing the British Empire, astonished the world; and never did a sovereign stand higher amidst the princes of the earth, than did Oliver Cromwell, when he had ratified, on terms of equality, a treaty, of which Englishmen may to this day be proud, with the most absolute monarch that ever reigned over France; and when he, in 1655, declared war against Spain and the whole power of the house of Austria.

APPENDIX TO VOL. II.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS TO THE COMMONWEALTH AND PROTECTORATE.

No. 1. Page 11.

The Army Modelled by Oliver Cromwell.

THIS army is praised by Clarendon for sobriety, morality, and orderly conduct. The following extracts from other authorities are curious:

"He had a brave regiment of horse of his countrymen, most of them freeholders and freeholders' sons; who would, as one man, stand firmly and fight desperately."—*Whitelock*, p. 72, *a*.

"At a general muster in 1644, no men appeared so full, and well armed, and civil, as Colonel Cromwell's horse."—*Id.*, p. 131, *b*.

"Cromwell used them daily to look after, feed, and dress their horses, and when it was necessary, to lie together on the ground; and besides taught them to clean and keep their arms bright, and have them ready for service, to chuse the best armour, and to arm themselves to the best advantage. Trained up in this kind of military exercise, they excelled all their fellow-soldiers in feats of war, and obtained more victories over the enemy. These were afterwards preferred to be commanders and officers in the army, and their places filled up with lusty strong fellows, whom he brought up in the same strictness of discipline."—*Bate*, p. 239.

Cromwell says of himself and his troop: "I was a person that from my first employment was suddenly preferred and lifted up from lesser trusts to greater. From my first being *Captain* of a troop of horse, I did labour (as well as I could) to discharge my trust; and God blessed me as it pleased him. I had a very worthy friend then, and he was a very noble person, and I know his memory is very grateful to you all. [Mr. John Hampden was the person.] At my first going out into this engagement, I saw our men were beaten on every hand. I did indeed; and desired him that he would make some additions to my Lord Essex's army of some new regiments. And I told him 'twould be serviceable to him in bringing such men in, as I thought had a spirit that would do something in the work. 'Your troops,' said I, 'are most of them old, decayed serving-men and tapsters, and such kind of fellows; and their troops are gentlemen's sons and persons of quality. And do you think that the spirits of such base and mean fellows will ever be able to encounter gentlemen, that have honour, and courage, and resolution in them? You must get men of spirit; and (take it not ill what I say) of a spirit that is likely to go on as far as a gentleman will go, or else I am sure you will be beaten still.' I told him so. He was a wise and worthy person, and he did think that I talked a good notion, but an impracticable one. I told him I could do somewhat in it. And I raised such men as had the fear of God before them, and made some conscience of what they did. And from that day forward they were never beaten; but wherever they were engaged against the enemy they beat continually."—*Conference of the Parliament desiring to take on him the title of King.* 1657. Lond., 1680-88, pp. 38, 39.

> ———"Leader seemed
> Each warriour; single, as in chief expert
> When to advance, or stand, or turn the sway
> Of battel, open when, and when to close
> The ridges of grim warr: no thought of flight,
> None of retreat, no unbecoming deed
> That argu'd fear: each on himself reli'd
> As onely in his arm the moment lay
> Of victorie." *Paradise Lost*, vi., p. 231.

"10*th June*, 1645.—Letters from the Chief Officers of Horse, under Sir Thomas Fairfax, to the Parliament, desiring that Colonel Cromwell might be Lieutenant-General of the Horse under Sir Thomas Fairfax. And after some debate the house ordered, that Sir Thomas Fairfax should

appoint Cromwell to command the horse under him as Lieutenant-General, if he thought fit. And thus Cromwell began to increase in the favour of the people, and of the army, and to grow great even to the envy of many."—*Whitelock*, p. 149, *b*.

"And Cromwell even of those things which he himself only performed, &c., made Fairfax the author."—*First Panegyric of Cromwell in Peck.*

"Fairfax, his birth, service, courage, and warlike temper, sufficiently qualified him to represent a prime actor; his mean capacity and want of foresight (which made him active without thought, tho' heavy and hypochondriac) made him fit to receive the impressions given him by another, and be guided by Cromwell. Thus Fairfax made the show, and Cromwell managed all."—*Father Orleans*, p. 85.

"Being as pliable as he was ambitious, Cromwell ruled by appearing submissive."—*Id.*, p. 185.

No. 2. Page 39.

Trial of Lilburne.

The following passages are extracted out of the Libels to prove the Treason of Lilburne:

"The People now see their slavery and absolute bondage is like to increase, under the present tyrannical, arbitrary, new-erected robbing Government."

"The present Juncto are no Parliament, according to Law or Reason, but a Company of usurping Tyrants, and Destroyers of your Laws and Liberties."

"Most of our present Juncto, and their new-framed Council of State, must go to Tyburn or Tower Hill."

"Your Officers have often styled them no better than a Mock Parliament,—a Shadow of a Parliament."

"Misery and Poverty were never so extreme under the most tyrannical of our Kings, as under these pretended Friends."

"Nothing but the groundless Will of these Men of Blood rageth and ruleth over us."

"The present Supreme Authority fought both against King and Parliament, rooted out all legal Magistracy, and left none but themselves; and could be compared to none but Murderers and Robbers, having no more just Right than so many Algier Pyrates."

"The King never acted the like Tyranny, and yet by

St. Oliver's Means lost his Head; and Oliver and his Parliament have plucked up the House of Lords by the Roots."

"They (the great Officers of the Army) have had as much power over their Parliament now sitting, as ever a schoolmaster had over his boys."

"The present men in Power have trod all Liberty under Foot, and set up their Tyranny by the Sword."

"The High Court of Justice is unlawful, if those who set it up were a legal Parliament, which they were not, but a Pack of Traiterous, Tyrannical Usurpers. And they being no Parliament, the other is no Court of Justice."

"He tells the young Men, they are obliged to exert themselves, for their own and the Nation's Advantage; and neither to address, or suffer the TYRANTS IN POWER to be addressed or petitioned; but to chuse some of the ablest among themselves, who would venture their Lives to oppose the present Usurpers: Desiring the Soldiers, if they had any compassion for themselves, or their Fellow-Subjects, to assist in their REDEMPTION FROM SLAVERY; especially those who signed the solemn Engagement: Advising them to chuse two out of each Troop and Company, to correspond and consult with the said young Men's Friends for establishing the Liberties and Freedom of the People."

In another place he says: "That the Young Men were resolved to incite their Fellow-Apprentices of the Out-Parishes to chuse Agents, and desire by Letter each county in England to do the same; which Agents should, with their Burford Friends, meet and consider of the speediest Method of chusing a new Parliament, according to the said Agreement; seeing THE PRESENT PRETENDED PARLIAMENT ONLY SHARED THE PUBLICK TREASURE AND MOST BENEFICIAL PLACES AMONG THEMSELVES, without redressing Oppressions, or receiving Petitions or Complaints: for notwithstanding the many Oaths, Promises, and Engagements of the present Commonwealth, to maintain the Liberties and Properties of the People, they were PERJURED TYRANTS, AND OUGHT TO BE ABHORRED OF ALL MEN."

"That Cromwell and his Confederates were guilty of most of the Crimes in kind charged against the late King, though under new Denominations."

"That no Promises could bind the Chief Jugglers and Leaders of the Army: and that he (the Prisoner) left their Council, esteeming them a Pack of dissembling Knaves, especially Ireton." And averred, "That the General and

chiefest of his Council dreaded a new and free Parliament more than the Day of Judgment. That neither Korah, Dathan, and Abiram of Old, nor the Anabaptists, with John of Leyden and Buperdullion at Munster, nor Jack Straw or Wat Tyler, were comparable to the General and his Council for Rebellions and Treasons against all kinds of Magistracy."

He tells the soldiery, "That they assisted rather than endeavoured to suppress the Destroyers of the Liberties of the People: and if any one complained, his House was immediately beset with armed Janizaries, to take off the People's courage, and prevent them maintaining their Freedoms."

In his Defence, Lilburne said: "A Prisoner ought to be tried in the County where the Treason was committed; and they had laid Facts in the Indictment said to be committed in three different Counties; and that there was but One Witness to most of the particular Treasons." He had stood Five Hours wasting his Spirits already, and now to stand to answer a five hours' charge *extempore,* was a Burthen too heavy for a Horse, and hoped they did not design to hang him, because he was tired, and had not strength left to pronounce his Defence; and desired a week's time, or at least to the next morning: but was told he must enter upon his Defence immediately. Then he desired he might withdraw an Hour, that he might peruse his Notes, and refresh his Spirits; and this being also refused, he cried out, "*Well, if you are resolved to have my Blood, right or wrong, I appeal to the Lord God Omnipotent, and a mighty Judge between you and me, to require and requite that blood on you and your Posterity to the third and fourth Generation.*" And a Scaffold falling down as he was speaking, put the Court into some Consternation; after which he said: "If you will not allow me liberty to withdraw and ease Nature, I desire I may do it in Court." Whereupon a Pot was brought him, and he was allowed some little time to look over his papers; but Keble, one of his Judges, soon interrupted him, and said: "Take away his Chair; the Court cannot wait his Motions. Speak what you have to say."

Lilburne answered: "I desire to know whether, after I have pleaded to matter of fact, you will permit me to speak to the Jury, on whose integrity my life depends, and who are Judges of Law, as well as Fact: and you only the Pronouncers of their Will: You who call yourselves Judges of the Law, are only Norman Intruders, Cyphers to pronounce their sentence, who are Judges of Law as well as Fact." To which Judge Jermin answered: "Was ever such damnable, blasphemous Heresy to call the Judges Cyphers?

The Judges have been Judges of the Law from the first Settlement of the Law of England, and the Jury only Judges of Fact."

"The Jury, before they went out, desired they might have a Quart of Sack to refresh themselves, but were told 'no Jury were ever allowed to drink in Capital cases,' and it was thought a great indulgence that they were permitted to have a Candle. The Jury returning into Court about an hour afterward, gave in their verdict that the Prisoner was 'Not Guilty;' at which the People shouted for half an hour without ceasing. But notwithstanding Mr. Lilburne was acquitted, he was remanded to the Tower, and Major-General Skippon ordered to guard him thither with a good body of troops; however, the multitude followed him, with loud acclamations, to the Tower Gates, and abundance of Bonfires were made in the streets that night; and the People afterwards appeared so exasperated at Lilburne's being continued a Prisoner, that the Council of State, on the 8th of November, thought fit to direct their warrant to the Lieutenant of the Tower to discharge him."—*Salmon's State Trials.*

No. 3. Page 44.

Milton's Defensio, &c.

It is remarkable that Milton escaped with his life after the Restoration, when he not only in this work defends the execution of Charles I., but that, in his other writings, no one has so highly extolled the Lord Protector.

Milton's Sentiments.

Milton wrote his *Defensio Secunda pro Populo Anglicano*, published 1654, approving of the late revolution of affairs, and declares that "nothing in human society is either more pleasing to God, or more agreeable to justice, than that the worthiest individual should possess the Sovereign power."* He proceeds, addressing Cromwell:

"Consider frequently in thy inmost thoughts, how dear a pledge, from how dear a parent recommended and entrusted (the gift liberty, the giver thy country), thou hast received into thy keeping. Revere the hope that is entertained of thee, the confident expectation of England; call to mind the features and the wounds of all

* *Nihil est in societate hominum magis vel Deo gratum, vel rationi consentaneum, quam potiri rerum dignissimum.*

the brave men, who under thy command have contended for this inestimable prize; call to mind the ashes and the image of those who fell in the bloody strife; respect the apprehension and the discourse that is held of us by foreign nations, how much it is they look for, in the recollection of our liberty so bravely achieved, of our Commonwealth so gloriously constructed, which, if it shall be in so short a time subverted, nothing can be imagined more shameful and dishonourable: last of all, revere thyself, so deeply bound, that that liberty, in securing which thou hast encountered such mighty hardships, and faced such fearful perils, shall, while in thy custody, neither be violated by thee, nor any way broken in upon by others. Recollect, that thou thyself canst not be free, unless we are so: for it is fitly so provided in the nature of things, that he who conquers another's liberty, in the very act loses his own; he becomes, and justly, the foremost slave. But indeed, if thou, the patron of our liberty, and (if I may so speak) its tutelar divinity,—if he, of whom we have held that no mortal was ever more just, more saintlike and unspotted, should undermine the freedom, which he had but so lately built up, this would prove not only deadly and destructive to his own fame, but to the entire and universal cause of religion and virtue. The very substance of piety and honour will be seen to have evaporated, and the most sacred ties and engagements will cease to have any value with posterity; than which a more grievous wound cannot be inflicted on human interests and happiness, since the fall of the first father of our race. Thou hast taken on thyself a task which will probe thee to the very vitals, and disclose to the eyes of all how much is thy courage, thy firmness, and thy fortitude; whether that piety, perseverance, moderation, and justice, really exist in thee, in consideration of which we have believed that God hath given thee the supreme dignity over thy fellows. To govern three mighty states by thy counsels,—to recal the people from their corrupt institutions, to a purer and a nobler discipline,—to extend thy thoughts, and send out thy mind to our remotest shores,—to foresee all, and provide for all,—to shrink from no labour,—to trample under foot and tear to pieces all the snares of pleasure, and all the entangling seducements of wealth and power;—these are matters so arduous, that in comparison of them the perils of war are but the sports of children. These will winnow thy faculties, and search thee to the very soul; they require a man sustained by a strength that is more than human, and

whose meditations and whose thoughts shall be in perpetual commerce with his Maker."

Milton further says, in his *Defensio Secunda*, "*Cum videres moras necti, privatæ quemque rei, quam publicæ, attentiorem, populum queri delusum se sua spe, et potentia paucorum circumventum esse, quod ipse toties moniti nolebant, eorum dominationi finem imposuisti.*"—"When you [Cromwell] saw them studious only of delay, and perceived each one more attentive to private advantage than to the public welfare; when you found the nation lamenting over their deluded hopes, which were successfully baffled and disappointed by the power of a few, you at length did that, which they had frequently been warned and entreated to do, and put an end to their sittings." Milton further observes: "At the beginning of the war, Cromwell was first trusted with a troop of horse. But speedily, from the judgment which all good men entertained respecting him, the number of his followers rapidly increased, and in the greatness of his enterprises, and the rapidity of their execution, he immediately equalled the most consummate generals. Nor is this wonderful; he was a soldier thoroughly accomplished in the art of self-knowledge, and his first successes were against the internal enemies of human virtue, vain hopes, fears, aspirings, and ambition. His first triumphs were over himself; and he was thus enabled, from the day that he beheld an enemy in the field, to exhibit the endowments of a veteran. Such was the temper and discipline of his mind, moulded not merely to military subordination, but to the precepts of Christian sanctity and sobriety, that all the good and the valiant were irresistibly drawn to his camp, not merely as the best school of martial science, but also of piety and religion; and those who joined it were necessarily rendered such by his example. These he retained in their duty, whether in times of actual service, or in intervals of leisure, not by bounties and dangerous indulgence, but with his single authority and the customary pay; in which empire over the minds of his followers he was surpassed neither by Epaminondas nor Cyrus, nor any of the most vaunted generals of antiquity. Thus he formed to himself an army of men, who were no sooner under his command, than they became the patterns of order, obedient to his slightest suggestions, popular and beloved by their fellow-citizens, and to the enemy not more terrible in the field, than welcome in their quarters. In the towns and villages where they sojourned, in no way offensive or rapacious, abstaining from violence, wine, intemperance,

and impiety, so that suddenly the inhabitants, rejoicing in their disappointment, regarded them not as enemies, but as guests and protectors, a terror to the disorderly, a safeguard to the good, and, by precept and example, the teachers of all piety and virtue." Milton then goes on to enumerate the victories of Cromwell at Preston, in Ireland, at Dunbar, and at Worcester; and concludes: "As long as you, Cromwell, are preserved to us, he must want reliance on the Providence of God, who fears for the prosperity and happiness of the English nation, you being so evidently the object of divine favour and protection."

No. 4. Page 46.

Instruments of Torture.

The following were the kinds of Torture chiefly employed in the Tower:

1. The rack was a large open frame of oak, raised three feet from the ground. The prisoner was laid under it on his back, on the floor: his wrists and ankles were attached by cords to two rollers at the ends of the frame: these were moved by levers in opposite directions, till the body rose to a level with the frame. Questions were then put; and if the answers did not prove satisfactory, the sufferer was stretched more and more, till the bones started from their sockets.

2. The scavenger's daughter was a broad hoop of iron so called, consisting of two parts, fastened to each other by a hinge. The prisoner was made to kneel on the pavement, and to contract himself into as small a compass as he could. Then the executioner kneeling upon his shoulders, and having introduced the hoop under his legs, compressed the victim close together, till he was able to fasten the extremities over the small of the back. The time allotted to this kind of torture was an hour and a half, during which time it commonly happened that, from excess of compression, the blood started from the nostrils; sometimes, it was believed, from the extremities of the hands and feet.—See *Bartoli*, 250.

3. Iron gauntlets, which could be contracted by the aid of a screw. They served to compress the wrists, and to suspend the prisoner in the air, from two distant points of a beam. He was placed on three pieces of wood, piled one on the other, which, when his hands had been made fast, were successively withdrawn from under his feet. "I felt," says F. Gerard, one of the sufferers, "the chief pain in my breast,

belly, arms, and hands. I thought that all the blood in my body had run into my arms, and began to burst out of my finger-ends. This was a mistake; but the arms swelled till the gauntlets were buried in the flesh. After being thus suspended an hour, I fainted; and when I came to myself, I found the executioners supporting me in their arms. They replaced the pieces of wood under my feet; but as soon as I was recovered, removed them again. Thus I continued hanging for the space of five hours, during which I fainted eight or nine times."—Apud *Bartoli*, 418.

4. A fourth kind of torture was a cell called "little ease." It was of small dimensions, and so constructed that the prisoner could neither stand, walk, sit, or lie in it at full length. He was compelled to draw himself up in a squatting posture, and so remained during several days.

No. 5. Page 47.

Martin Mar-Prelate.

The tracts of this anonymous writer were republished in five small volumes, in London, 1846. They consist of "Hayworke for the Cooper," and other tracts.

No. 6. Page 82 *et seq.*

Glamorgan, Rinuccini, &c.

The commission granted to Glamorgan was in accordance with an understanding entered into with deputies sent from the confederate Catholics to the king at Oxford. Lord Glamorgan, in a letter to Clarendon, after the Restoration, to be laid before Charles II., and dated June 11, 1660, says: "For his majesty's better information, through your favour, and by the channel of your lordship's understanding things rightly, give me leave to acquaint you with one chief key wherewith to open the secret passages between his late majesty and myself in order to his service, which was no other than a real exposing of myself to any expense or difficulty, rather than his just design should not take place; or in taking effect, that his honour should suffer. An effect you may justly say, relishing more of a passionate and blind affection for his majesty's service, than of discretion and care of myself. This made me take a resolution that he should have seemed angry with me at my return out of Ireland, until I had brought him to a posture and power to own his commands, to make good his instructions, and to reward my faithfulness and zeal therein.

"Your lordship may well wonder, and the king too, at the amplitude of my commission. But when you have understood the height of his majesty's design, you will soon be satisfied that nothing less could have made me capable to effect it; being that one army of 10,000 was to have come out of Ireland through North Wales; another of a like number, at least, under my command in chief, have expected my return in South Wales, which Sir Henry Gage was to have commanded as lieutenant-general; and a third should have consisted of a matter of 6000 men, 2000 of which were to have been Liegois, commanded by Sir Francis Edmonds; 2000 Lorrainers, to have been commanded by Colonel Browne; and 2000 of such French, English, Scotch, and Irish, as could be drawn out of Flanders and Holland. And the 6000 were to have been, by the Prince of Orange's assistance, in the associated counties; and the governor of Lyne, cousin-german to Major Bacon, major of my own regiment, was to have delivered the town unto them.

"The maintenance of this army of foreigners was to have come from the Pope, and such Catholic princes as he should have drawn into it, having engaged to afford and procure 30,000*l.* a month; out of which the foreign army was first to be provided for, and the remainder to be divided among the other armies. And for this purpose had I power to treat with the Pope and Catholic princes, with particular advantage promised to Catholics for the quiet enjoying their religion, without the penalties which the statutes in force had power to inflict upon them. And my instructions for this purpose, and my powers to treat and conclude thereupon, were signed by the king under his pocket signet, with blanks for me to put in the names of Pope or princes, to the end the king might have a starting-hole to deny the having given me such commissions, if excepted against by his own subjects; leaving me as it were at stake, who, for his majesty's sake, was willing to undergo it, trusting to his word alone."—*Clarendon Papers*, ii., pp. 201, 202.

1645, *January 2nd.*—Glamorgan received the following instructions: "First, you may ingage y^r^ estate, interest, and creditt, that we will most really and punctually performe any our promises to the Irish, and as it is necessary to conclude a peace suddainely, soe whatsoever shall be consented unto by our lieutenant the Marquis of Ormond, We will dye a thousand deaths rather than disannull or breake it; and if vpon necessity anything be to be condescended unto, and yet the lord marquis not willing to be

scene therein, as not fitt for us at the present publickeley to owne, doe you endeavour to supply the same."—*Century of Inventions by Mr. Partington: Original Letters and Official Papers*, p. xxxv. Then follows a promise to perform any promise made by him to Ormond or others, &c.

January 6.—He received a commission to levy any number of men in Ireland, and other parts beyond the sea, with power to appoint officers, receive the king's rent, &c.—*Birch*, p. 18, from the *Nuncio's Memoirs*, fol. 713.

January 12.—He received another warrant of a most extraordinary description, which I shall transcribe from a MS. copy in my possession, attested by his signature, and probably the very same which he gave to Ormond after his arrest and imprisonment:

"CHARLES REX.

"Charles, by the grace of God King of England, Scotland, Frannce, and Ireland, Defender of the Fayth, &c. To our Right trusty and well-beloved Cossin Edward Earle of Glamorgan, greetinge. Whereas wee haue had sufficient and ample testimony of your approued wisdome and fideliti. Soe great is the confidence we repose in yo$_w$ as that whatsoeuer yow shall perform as warranted only under our signe manuall pocket signett or private marke, or even by woorde of mouthe, wth further ceremonii, wee doo in the worde of a kinge and a cristian, promis to make good to all intents and purposes, as effectually as if your authoriti from us had binne under our great seale of England, wth this advantage, that we shall esteem our self farr the more obliged to yo^w for y^r gallantry in not standing upon such nice tearms to doe us service, w^h wee shall God willing rewarde. And althooghe yo^w exceed what law can warrant, or any power of ours reach unto. as not knowinge what yo^w may haue need of, yet it being for our service, wee oblige our self not only to give yo^w our pardon, but to mantayne the same wth all our might and power; and though either by accident yo^w loose, or by any other occasion, yo^w shall deem it necessary to deposit any of our warrants, and so wante them at your returne, wee faythfully promise to make them good at your returne, and to supply any thinge wheerin they shall be found defective, it not being convenient for us at this time to dispute upon them, for of what wee haue heer sett downe, yo^w may rest confident, if theer be fayth or truth in man; proceed, theerfor, cheerfully, speedily, and bouldly, and for yo^r so doinge this shal be yo^r sufficient warrant. Giuen

at our Court at Oxford, under our signe manuall and privat signet, this 12th of Januarj, 1644.

"To our Right trustj and Right well-beloved Cosin, Edward Earle of Glamorgan."

Indorsed, "The Earle of Glamorgan's further authority."

February 12.—Glamorgan had left Oxford, and was raising money in Wales, when Charles sent him other despatches, and with them a letter desiring him to hasten to Ireland. In it he acknowledges the danger of the undertaking, that Glamorgan had already spent above a million of crowns in his service, and that he was bound in gratitude to take care of him next to his own wife and children. "What I can further thinke at this pñt is to send yw the blue ribben, and a warrant for the title of Duke of Somerset, both wch accept and make ves of at your discretion, and if you should deferre ye publishing of either for a whyle to avoyde envye, and my being importuned by others, yet I promise yor antiquitie for ye one, and your pattent for the other, shall bear date with the warrants."—*Century of Inventions*, p. xxxiv. On the 18th of August, 1660, the Marquis of Hertford complained that this patent was injurious to him, as he claimed the title of Somerset. Glamorgan, then Marquis of Worcester, readily surrendered it on the 3rd of September, and his son was created Duke of Beaufort.

On March 12th, 1646, the King wrote to Glamorgan, as Lord Herbert, the following letter:

"HERBERT,—I wonder you are not yet gone for Ireland; but since you have stayed all this time, I hope these will ouertake you, whereby you will the more see the great trust and confidence I repose in your integrity, of which I have had soe long and good experience: commanding you to deale with all ingenuity and freedome with our Lieutenant of Ireland the Marquis of Ormond, and on the word of a King and a Christian, I will make good anything which our lieutenant shall be induced unto upon your persuasion; and if you find it fitting, you may privately show him these, which I intend not as obligatory to him, but to myselfe, and for both your encouragements and warrantise, in whom I repose my cheefest hopes, not having in all my kingdomes two such subjects; whose endeavours joining, I am confident to be soone drawen out of the mire I am now enforced to wallow in."

The following warrant, dated at Oxford on the same day,

may have been referred to in the word "these" in the above title:

"CHARLES R.

"Charles, by the Grace of God King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Fayth, &c. To our right trusty and right wel-beloved Cosin, Edward Earle of Glamorgan, Greeting. We, reposing great and espitiall trust and confidence in y^r approved wisdome and fidelity doe by these (as firmely as under our great seale, to all intents and purposes) Authorise and give you power to treate and conclude w^th the Confederat Romain Catholikes in our Kingdom of Ireland, if *vpon necessity anything be to be condescended vnto wherein our Lieutenant can not so well be seene in as not fitt for vs at the present publikely to owne*, and therefore we charge you to proceede according to this our warrant w^th all possible secresie, and for whatsoever you shall engage yourselfe, vpon such valuable considerations as you in your iudgement shall deeme fitt, we promise, in the word of a King and a Christian, to ratifie and performe the same that shall be graunted by you, and vnder your hande and seale, the sayd Confederat Catholikes, having by they^r supplyes testified they^re zeale to our service, and this shall be in eache particular to you a sufficient warrant. Given at our Court at Oxford, vnder our signett and Royall signature, the twelfe day of Marche, in the twentieth yeare of our Raigne, 1644.

"To our Right Trusty and right wel-beloved Cosin, Edward Earle of Glamorgan."

This warrant, though disputed by some Royalist writers, was inserted *verbatim* in Glamorgan's treaty with the confederate Catholics. Rinuccini writes: "A suâ majestate mandatum habuit, cujus originale regiâ manu subscriptum Glamorganiæ, comes deposuit apud confœderatos Catholicos." —Folio 1292, apud *Birch*, 215. Lingard says, if better authority be required, I have *in my possession the original warrant itself, with the king's signature and private seal* bearing the arms of the three kingdoms, a crown above, and C. R. on the sides, and indorsed in the same hand-writing with the body of the warrant, "The Earle of Glamorgan's espetiall warrant for Ireland."

April 30.—When Rinuccini had been appointed nuncio for Ireland, the king wrote Glamorgan, transmitting a letter for the nuncio and another for the Pope. Charles, according to the Nuncio's Memoirs, says: "Nous ne doubtons

point, que les choses n'yront bien, et que le bonnes intentions commencés par effect du dernier pape ne s' accomplisseront par celuys icy, et par vos moyens, en votre royaume d'Irelande et de Angleterre."—*Birch*, 28. The nuncio is also requested to join Glamorgan, and the king promises consent to their joint acts.—*Ibid.*

January 29, 1646.—Yet when the discoveries alluded to in the text of this volume, page 82 *et seq.*, were made, the king sent a message to both houses of Parliament, declaring that Glamorgan had a commission to raise troops, and "to that purpose only; that he had no commission to treat of anything else without the information of his having made any treaty with the Catholics, and, that he (the king) disavowed him in his proceedings, and had ordered the Irish council to proceed against him by due course of law."—*King Charles's Works*, p. 555.

January 31.—The king writes the council at Dublin that Glamorgan was informed of secret instructions given to Ormond, and directed to persuade the Catholics to reduce their demands. "To this end (and with the strictest limitations that we could enjoin him, merely to those particulars concerning which we had given you secret instructions, as also even in that to do nothing but by your special directions) it is possible we might have thought fit to have given unto the said Earl of Glamorgan such a credential as might have given him credit with the Roman Catholics, in case you should find occasion to make use of him, either as a further assurance unto them of what you should privately promise, or in case you should judge it necessary to manage those matters for their greater confidence apart by him, of whom, in regard of his religion and interest, they might be less zealous."—*Carte's Ormond*, vol. iii., p. 446.

On February 3, the king wrote:

"GLAMORGAN,—I must clearly tell you, both you and I have been abused in this business; for you have been drawn to consent to conditions much beyond your instructions, and your treaty hath been divulged to all the world. If you had advised with my lord-lieutenant, as you promised me, all this had been helped. But we must look forward. Wherefore, in a word, I have commanded as much favour to be shown to you as may possibly stand with my service or safety; and if you will yet trust my advice—which I have commanded Digby to give you freely—I will bring you so off that you may still be useful to me, and I shall be able to recompense you for your affection; if not, I cannot tell what to say. But

I will not doubt your compliance in this, since it so highly concerns the good of all my crowns, my own particular, and to make me have still means to show myself

" Your most assured Friend,

" CHARLES R.

" Oxford, Feb. 3, 1645-6."—*Warner*, 360.

This is the jesuitical proceeding alluded to in the text which was sent through Ormond and Digby, and on the 28th of February he wrote to Glamorgan the following unreserved letter:

" HERBERT,—I am confident that this honest, trusty bearer will give you a good satisfaction why I have not in euerie thing done as you desired, the wante of confidence in you being so farre from being y^e^ cause thereof, that I am every day more and more confirmed in the trust that I have of you, for believe me, it is not in the power of any to make you suffer in my opinion by ill offices; but of this and diuers other things I have given so full instruction that I will saye no more, but that I am,

" Yo^r^ most assured, constant Friend,

" CHARLES R."

April 5th, the king writes:

" GLAMORGAN,—I have no time, nor do you expect that I shall make unnecessary repititions to you. Wherefore, referring you to Digby for business, this is only to give you assurance of my constant friendship to you; which, considering the general defection of common honesty, is in a sort requisite. Howbeit, I know you cannot but be confident of my making good all instructions to you and the nuncio.

" Your most assured, constant Friend,

" CHARLES R."—*Warner*, 373.

And on the 6th April, the king writes again:

" HERBERT,—As I doubt not you have too much courage to be dismayed or discouraged at the usage you have had, so I assure you that my estimation of you is nothing diminished by it, but rather begets in me a desire of revenge and reparation to us both; for in this I hold myself equally interested with you. Wherefore, not doubting of your accustomed care and industry in my service, I assure you of the continuance of my favour and protection to you, and that in deeds more than words, I shall shew myself to be,

" Your most assured, constant Friend,

" CHARLES R."—*Warner*, 374.

No one can now doubt Glamorgan's commission. Clarendon did not.

Charles II., in a letter directed to the Duke of Ormond and the lords of the council in Ireland, dated July 10, 1663, says expressly, "That they have seen several letters, all of them the hand-writing of our royal father, to the said marquis, and several instructions concerning his treating and joining with the Irish, in order to the king's service, by reducing to their obedience, and by drawing some forces from them for the service of Scotland. That besides the letters and orders under his majesty's hand, they have received sufficient evidence and testimony of several private messages and directions sent from our royal father, and from our royal mother, with the privity and with the directions of the king, our father by which they are persuaded; that whatever intelligence, correspondence, or actings the said marquis had with the confederate Irish Catholicks, was directed or allowed by the said letters, instructions, and directions; and that it manifestly appears to them that the king, our father, was well pleased with what the marquis did after he had done it, and approved the same." "What he did by way of correspondence, or compliance with the Irish rebels, was in order to the service of our royal father, and warranted by his instructions, and the trust reposed in him; and that the benefit thereof accrued to the service of the crown, and not to the particular advantage and benefit of the marquis."—See this letter at large in *Truth brought to Light*, p. 21; *Burnet*, vol. i., p. 47.

Yet, in the face of the foregoing proofs, we find the following despatch from Charles I. to the Duke of Ormond:

"Right trusty and well-beloved cousin and counsellors, we greet you well. We have seen and considered your dispatch concerning the Earl of Glamorgan's accusation, and your proceedings thereupon. And as we could not but receive the one with extraordinary amazement, that any man's folly and presumption should carry him to such a degree of abusing our trust, how little soever; so we could not but be very sensible of the great affection and zeal to our service which you have expressed by putting our honour (so highly traduced) into a speedy and effectual way of vindication by proceeding against the said earl. And, although we are so well assured of your and the rest of our council's entire confidence of the justice and piety of our resolution in what concerns the maintenance of the true Protestant religion,—yet, to the end that your zeal be the better in-

structed in that particular, we have thought fit to let you know the whole truth of what has passed from us unto the Earl of Glamorgan, whereby he might in anywise pretend to the least kind of trust or authority from us, in what concerned the treaty of that kingdom. The truth is, that the pressing condition of our affairs obliging us to procure a peace, if it might be had on any terms safe to our honour and conscience, and to our Protestant subjects there; we thought fit, over and above our public power and directions to you, our lord-lieutenant, to give you private instructions and power to assure the said Roman Catholics in a less public way of the said exemptions from penalties and some other graces. With the knowledge of these secret instructions to you, we thought fit to acquaint the Earl of Glamorgan at his going to Ireland, being confident of his hearty affections to our service; and, withal, knowing his interest with the Roman Catholic party to be very considerable, we thought it not unlikely that you might make good use of him, by employing that interest to persuade them to greater moderation. To this end (and with the strictest limitations that we could enjoin him merely to those particulars, and even in that to do nothing but in your special directions), it is possible we might have thought fit to give unto the said Earl of Glamorgan such a credential, as might give him credit with the Roman Catholics, in case you should find occasion to make use of him. This is all, and the very bottom of what we might possibly have entrusted to the said Earl of Glamorgan in this affair, which, as things stood, might have been very useful in accelerating the peace; as well as for hastening those necessary aids which we were to expect from thence, had we had the luck to employ a wiser man."*

This letter from the king in council was official; but Charles wrote also a private letter to Ormond, assuring him, "Upon the word of a Christian, that he never intended that Glamorgan should treat anything without his approbation, much less without his knowledge; since, beside the injury to Ormond, he was always diffident of Glamorgan's judgment, though he could not have thought him so extremely weak, as now to his cost he had found." The letter concludes: "Albeit, I have too just cause, for the clearing of my honour, to command you, as I have done, to prosecute Glamorgan in a legal way, yet I will have you suspend the execution of any sentence against him till I am fully informed

* Carte, vol. iii., No. 425.

of all the proceedings; as I believe it was his misguided zeal, more than any malice, which brought this great misfortune on him, and on us all." *

" Dr. Leybrun, who was sent by the queen to Ireland in 1647, tells us, on the authority of the nuncio and the Bishop of Clogher, " that my Lord of Worcester (Glamorgan) was ready to justify that he had exactly followed his instructions, and particularly that concerning the lord-lieutenant, whom he had made acquainted with all that he had transacted with the Irish, of which he could produce proof."—*Birch, Inquiry,* 322.

" Nor will any one doubt it, who attends to the letter of Ormond to Lord Muskerry on the 11th of August, just after the arrival of Glamorgan at Kilkenny, in which, speaking of Glamorgan, he assured him, and through him the Council of the Confederates, that he knew ' no subject in England upon whose favour and authority with his Majesty they can better rely, than upon his Lordship's, nor * * with whom he (Ormond) would sooner agree for the benefit of this kingdom.' "—*Birch, Inquiry,* 62. See also *Correspondence,* &c., of Rinuccini, lately published at Florence.

No. 7. Page 110.

The Act for the Settlement of Ireland.

" Whereas the Parliament of England, after expense of much blood and treasure for suppression of the horrid rebellion in Ireland, have, by the good hand of God vppon their vndertakings, brought that affaire to such an issue as that a totall reducm^t^ and settlement of that nation may, with God's blessing, be speedily effected. To the end, therefore, that the people of that nation may knowe that it is not the intention of the Parliament to extirpat that wholl nation, but that mercie and pardon, both as to life and estate, may bee extended to all husbandmen, plowmen, labourers, artificers, and others of the inferior sort, in manner as is hereafter declared, they submitting themselves to the Commonwealth of the Parliament of England, and liveing peaceably and obediently vnder their governement; and that others alsoe of a higher ranke and quality may knowe the Parliament's intention concerning them, according to the respective demerits and considerations vnder which they fall, Bee it enacted and de-

* Carte, vol. ii., Appendix, No. 23.

clared by this present Parliament, and by the authority of the same, That all and every person and persons of the Irish nation comprehended in any of the following Qualifications shal bee lyable vnto the penalties and forfeitures herein mentioned and contained or bee made capable of the mercy and pardon therein extended respectively, according as it is heerafter expressed and declared, that is to saye:

"1. That all and every person and persons who at any time before the tenth day of November 1642, being the time of the sitting of the first generall assembly at Kilkenny, in Ireland, have contrived, advised, counselled, or promoted the Rebellion, murthers, massacres, done or committed in Ireland w^ch^ began in the year 1641. or have at any time before the said tenth day of November 1642, by bearing armes, or contributing men, armes, horses, plate, money, victuall, or other furniture or habilliments of warre (other then such w^ch^ they shall make to appeare to haue beene taken from them by meere force & violence), ayded, assisted, promoted, prosecuted, or abetted the said rebellion, murthers or massacres, be excepted from pardon of life and estate.

"2. That all and every person & persons who at any time before the first day of May 1643. did sitt or vote in the said first generall assembly, or in the first pretended counsell, commonly called the supreame Councell of the Confederate Catholiques in Ireland or were imployed as secretaries or chiefe clearke, to be exempted from pardon for life and estate.

"3. That all and every Jesuitt preist, and other person or persons who have receaved orders from the Pope or Sea of Rome, or any authoritie from the same, that have any wayes contrived, advised, counselled, promoted, continued, countenanced, ayded, assisted or abetted, or at any time hereafter shall any wayes contriue, advise, councell, promote continue, countenance, ayde, assist or abett the Rebellion, or warre in Ireland, or any the murthers or massacres, robberies or violences, committed against y^e^ Protestants, English, or others there, be excepted from pardon for life and estate.

"4. That James Butler earl of Ormond, James Talbot earl of Castlehaven, Ullick Bourke earl of Clanricarde, Christopher Plunket earl of Fingal, James Dillon earl of Roscommon, Richard Nugent earl of Westmeath, Moragh O'Brian baron of Inchiquin, Donogh M'Carthy viscount Muskerry, Richard Butler viscount Mountgarrett, Theobald Taaffe viscount Taaffe of Corren, Rock viscount Fermoy, Montgomery viscount Montgomery of Ards, Magennis viscount

of Iveagh, Fleming baron of Slane, Dempsey viscount Glanmaleere, Birmingham baron of Atheney, Oliver Plunket baron of Lowth, Robert Barnwell baron of Trymletstoune, Myles Bourke viscount Mayo, Connor Magwyre baron of Enniskillen, Nicholas Preston viscount Gormanstoune, Nicholas Nettervill viscount Nettervill of Lowth, John Bramhall late bishop of Derry, (with eighty-one baronets, knights, and gentlemen mentioned by name,) be excepted from pardon of life and estate.

"5. That all and every person and persons (both principalls and accessories), who, since the first day of October, 1641, have or shall kill, slay, or otherwise destroy, any person or persons in Ireland, w^ch^ at y^e^ time of their being soe killed, slaine, or destroyed, were not publiquely enterteined, and mainteyned in armes as officers or private souldiers, for and on behalfe of the English against y^e^ Irish, and all and every person and persons (both principalls and accessories), who, since the first day of October, 1641, have killed, slayne, or otherwise destroyed, any person or persons entertained and mainteyned as officers or private souldiers, for and on behalfe of the English against the Irish (the persons soe killing, slaying, or otherwise destroying, not being then publiquely enterteyned and maynteyned in armes, as officer or private souldier, vnder the comānd and pay of y^e^ Irish against the English), be excepted from pardon for life and estate.

"6. That all and every person & persons in Ireland, that are in armes, or otherwise in hostilitie against y^e^ Parliam^t^ of y^e^ Commonwealth of England, and shall not within eight-and-twenty dayes after publicacōn hereof, by y^e^ deputy gen^ll^ of Ireland, & y^e^ comission^rs^ for the Parliam^t^ lay downe armes & submitt to y^e^ power and authoritie of y^e^ said Parliam^t^ & Commonwealth, as y^e^ same is now established, be excepted from pardon for life and estate.

"7. That all other person & persons (not being comprehended in any of y^e^ former Qualifications), who have borne comāund in the warre of Ireland against the Parliam^t^ of England or their forces, as generall, leift^ts^ generall, major gen^ll^, commissary generall, colonell, gouerno^rs^ of any garrison, castle, or forte, or who have been imployed as receaver gen^ll^ or treasurer of the whole Nation, or any prouince thereof, Comissarie gen^ll^ of musters or prouissions, Marshall generall or marshall of any province, advocate to y^e^ army, secretary to y^e^ councell of warre, or to any generall of the army, or of any the seuerall prouinces, in order to the carrying on the warre, against the Parliam^t^ or their

forces, be banished dureing the pleasure of ye Com~wealth of England, and their estates forfeited & disposed of as followeth (viz.): That two third partes of their respective estates, be had, taken, & disposed of for the vse & benefitt of the said Com~wealth, and that ye other third parte of their said respective estates, or other lands to ye proporcõn & value thereof (to bee assigned in such places in Ireland as the Parliamt, in order to ye more effectual settlemt of ye peace of this nation, shall thinke fitt to appoint for that purpose), be respectiuely had, taken, and enioyed by ye wifes & children of the said persons respectively.

"8. That ye deputy genll and comissionrs of Parliamt have power to declare, That such person or persons as they shall judge capeable of ye Parliamt's mercie (not being comprehended in any of ye former qualifications), who have borne armes against the Parliamt of England or their forces, and have layd downe armes, or within eight-and-twenty dayes after publicacõn hereof by ye deputy genll of Ireland and ye Comissioners for ye Parliamt shall lay downe armes & submitt to ye power and authoritie of ye said Parliamt & Com~wealth as ye same is now established, (by promising and ingaging to be true to ye same) shal be pardoned for their liues, but shall forfeit their estates, to the said Comõnwealth, and ye other third parte of the said respective estates, to the said Comõnwealth to be disposed of as followeth (viz.): Two third partes thereof (in three equall partes to bee diuided) for the vse, benefitt, & aduantage of ye said Comõnwealth, and ye other third parte of the said respective estates, or other lands to ye proporcõn or value thereof (to bee assigned in such places in Ireland as the Parliamt in order to ye more effectual settlement of the peace of the nation, shall thinke fitte to appoint for that purpose), bee enioyed by ye said persons, their heires, or assigns respectively, provided, That in case the deputy genll & comissionrs, or either of them, shall see cause to give any shorter time than twenty-eight dayes vnto any person or persons in armes, or any Guarrison, Castle, or Forte, in hostilitie against the Parliamt, and shall giue notice to such person or persons in armes, or in any Guarrison, Castle, or Forte, That all and every such person & persons who shall not wthin such time as shal be sett downe in such notice surrender such Guarrison, Castle, or Forte to ye Parliamt, and lay downe armes, shall haue noe advantage of ye time formerly limitted in this Qualificacõn.

"9. That all and every person & persons who have recided

in Ireland at any time, from the first day of October, 1641, to y^e^ first of March, 1650, and haue not beene in actuall service of y^e^ Parliam^t^ at any time from y^e^ first of August, 1649, to the said first of March, 1650, or have not otherwise manifested their constant good affections to the interrest of y^e^ Comõnwealth of England (the said Persons not being comprehended in any of the former Qualificacõns), shall forfeit their estates in Ireland to the said Comõnwealth, to be disposed of as followeth (viz.): one third parte thereof for the vse, benefitt, & advantage of the said Comõnwealth, and the other two third partes of their respective estates, or other lands to the proporcõn or value thereof (to bee assigned in such places in Ireland as y^e^ Parliam^t^ for y^e^ more effectual settlement of y^e^ peace of the Nation shall thinke fitt to appoint for that purpose), be enioyed by such person or persons, their heires or assigns respectively.

"10. That all and every person & persons (haueing noe reall estate in Ireland, nor personall Estate to the value of ten pounds), that shall lay downe armes, and submitt to the power and Authoritie of the Parliament by the time limitted in the former Qualificacõn, & shall take & subscribe the engagem^t^ to be true and faithfull to the Comõnwealth of England as the same is now established, within such time, and in such manner, as the deputy Generall & commission^rs^ for the Parliam^t^ shall appoint and direct, such persons (not being excepted from pardon, nor adiuged for banishm^t^ by any of the former Qualificacõns), shal be pardoned for life & estate, for any act or thing by them done in the prosecution of the warre.

"11. That all estates declared by the Qualificacõns concerning rebells or delinquents in Ireland to be forfeited shal be construed, adiuged, & taken, to all intents and purposes, to extend to y^e^ forfeitures of all estates tayle, and also of all rights & titles thereunto, which, since the fiue and twentith of March, 1639, have beene, or shal be, in such rebells or delinquents, or any other in trust for them or any of them, or their or any of their vses, with all reversions & remainders thereupon, in any other person or persons whatsoever.

"And also to the forfeiture of all estates limitted, appointed conueyed, settled, or vested in any person or persons declared by the said Qualificacõns to be rebells or delinquents, with all reversions or remainders of such estates, conueyed, uested, limitted, declared, or appointed, to any the heires, children, issues, or others of the blood, name, or kindred of such

rebells or delinquents, w^ch^ estate, or estates, remainders, or reuersions, since the 25th of March, 1639, haue beene, or shal be in such rebells or delinquents, or in any their heires, children, issues, or others of the blood, name, or kindred of such rebells or delinquents.

"And to all estates graunted, limitted, appointed, or conueyed by any such rebells or delinquents vnto any their heirs, children, issue, w^th^ all the reversions and remainders therevpon, in any other person of the name, blood, or kindred of such rebells or delinquents, provided that this shall not extend to make voyd the estates of any English Protestants who haue constantly adhered to the Parliam^t^, w^ch^ were by them purchased for valuable consideracõn before y^e^ 23rd of October, 1641, or vpon like valuable consideracõn mortgaged to them before y^e^ time, or to any person or persons in trust for them, for satifaction of debts owing to them."—*From the Original.*

No. 8. Page 125.

Virgeniæ.

Virginia's Verger; or a Discourse showing the Benefits which may growe to this Kingdome from American-English Plantations, and especially those of Virginia and Summer Islands.

This remarkable discourse is so characteristic of the times, and of sentiments then entertained, that the following extracts may be interesting. It is written or compiled by the Rev. Samuel Purchas, parson of St. Martin's, Ludgate, and dedicated to George, Archbishop of Canterbury. It is printed entire in "Purchas his Pilgrims," v. iv., folio edition, London, 1625.

It commences, "God is the beginning and the end, the Alpha and the Omega, that first and last, of whom and for whom all things are made. The first and the last thing, therefore, in this Virginian argument, considerable, is God; that is, whether we have a *commission from him* to plant, and whether the plantation may bring *glory to him*;" and then, after using numerous quotations from the five books of Moses, he argues on the superior right of Christians over the land of the infidels. "Hence is it," says he, "that Christians, such as haue the grace of the spirit of Christ, and not the profession of his merit alone, haue and hold of the world and the things thereof in another tenure, whereof hypocrites and heathens are not capable: *these* haue only a *Naturall* right,

by the *reliques* of the law of nature, left in man by the Creator's goodnesse for the conseruation of the face of *a world* in *the world;* The same further improued with *warrantisation, contra omnes gentes* (our euidences' dialect), by the law of nations vnto nations, and laws *politicke* and ciuill, in each nation, alloting to the members thereof the publique and priuate ciuil rights and tenures which either publicke or *priuate* persons, or corporations, held therein. Hee gaue Ar to the children of Lot, and the land of *Horims* to Esau's posteritie, thogh not with like circumstances as Canaan to Israel, and it was by especiall indulgence that the Israelites both spoiled the Egyptians and disinherited the Canaanites. Let it bee enouht that Christ hath giuen vs our selves in the Lord's service to bee a perfect freeman, the Vniverse an vniversall tenure, and Heauen in reversion; that hath giuen his *sonne,* doth giue his *spirit,* will giue *himself;* that *all things are ours, and wee Christ's, and Christ God's.* That natural right of cohabitation and commerce we had with others, this of iust invasion and conquest, and many others praeuious to this, we haue above others; so that England may, both by law of nature and nations, challenge Virginia for her owne peculiar propriety, and that by all right and rites vsual amongst men, not those mentioned alone, but by others also, first discouery, first actuall possession, prescription, gift, cession, and liuery of Seisin, sale for price, that I mention not the naturall inheritance of the English their naturally borne, and the vnnatural outcries of so many vnnaturally murthered for iust vengeance of rooting out the authors and actors of so prodigious iniustice.

"And first discouery, the English, Spaniard, and Portugall seem the Triumuiri of the world's first discouries, the Spaniard and Portugall first opening the Eastern, Western, and Southern Parts, the English the northern America, and all known parts whence to the north and north east, I could bring authority for King Arthur's conquests, aboue 1000 yeers in Island, Gronland, Estoliland; but I feare this would seeme too weake a foundation, and (which lyers get by lying) discredit our other authorities lesse suspicious; howsoeuer Authors of best note in Geography alledge those, which reuerence of the truth makes me let passe, and so I do King *Malgo* soon after him and Saint Brandon, and the Friar of Oxford (which, A. 1360, is said to discover to the Pole), and Owen Gwined, Prince of North Wales, his son Maddock, A. 1170, which conueyed a colony as learned men thinke into the West Indies. In all antiquities, as *Varro* obserued, there are somethings fabulous (so I deeme

the former); something *vncertaine*, as this last; and something *Historicall*, as that which we shall deliuer. *Robert Thorne*, in a Booke to Dr. *Leigh*, writeth that his father, with another merchant of *Bristol*, *Hugh Eliot*, were the first discouerers of the *New-found-lands;* and if the mariners would haue been ruled by their Pilot, the Lands of the West Indies, from whence the gold cometh, had beene ours. What yeere this happened, he expresseth not; but the words import that it was before *Columbus* his discovery. And, before *Columbus* his discovery of the Continent, Sir *Sebastian Cabot*, at the charges of K. Henry the Seuenth with two Caruels, in the year 1496 (so himselfe in *Ramusio;* the map with his picture in the Priuy Gallery hath 1497) sailed to the *New-found-land*, which he called *Prima Vista* and the Iland of *S. Johns*, because it was discoverèd on the Feast of *S. John Baptist*, from whence he sailed northerly to 67 deg. and a halfe, hoping by that way to pass to *Cathay*, but his mutinous Company (terrified haply with Ice and cold) forced his returne, which hee made along the coast towards the Equinoctiall, to the part of the firme land now called *Florida*, and then his victualls failing, he returned into *England*, where by occasion of *warres* with Scotland the imploiement was laid aside. But for Virginia, as it was then discouered by Sir Seb. Cabot, so it receiued that name from our Virgin Mother, Great Elizabeth: in whose time formal and actual possession was taken for her Majesty, the 13th of July, 1584.

"Now for voluntary subiection of the Natiues giuing themselves and their lands to the crown of England, *M. Ralph Lane* hath testified for the first colonie, that *Menatonion*, their king by his messenger, and with him twentie-four principal men, sent from *Okisko*, King of *Weopomiok*, his Vassall formally acknowledged her Majesty as seruants and homagers to her, and *Powhatan* chiefe lord of all the sauages, with thirtie-nine *Werowances*, haue yeelded to more then formes and circumstances of homage, besides contribution hauing also actually sold for copper by him received of Captain *John Smith*, and made voluntary cession of as much as the English desired. Hee accepted a Copper Crowne as Vassall to his Maiesty: which also hee really performed for a time, howsoever since they haue been perfidious. Temperance and justice had before kissed each other, and seemed to bless the cohabitations of *English* and *Indians* in *Virginia*. But when Virginia was violently rauished by her owne ruder natiues, Temperance could not temper herselfe, yea, the stupid earth seemes distempered with such bloudy po-

tions and cries, that she is ready to spue out her Inhabitants: Justice cryeth to GOD for vengeance, and in his name adiureth Prudence and Fortitude to the Execution.

"All the rich endowments of *Virginia*, her virgin portion from the creation nothing lessened, are wages for all this worke: God in wisdome, hauing enriched the Sauage Countries, that those riches might be attractiues for Christian suters, which there may *sowe spirituals, and reape temporals.*

"First, Religion (as is before obserued) inuiteth vs there to seeke the *Kingdome of God first, and all other things shall be ministered to vs,* and added as aduantage to the bargaine: seeke the Kingdome of God, and see our earthlie Kingdome in recompence, as the earnest and the heauenly Kingdome for our full paiment.

"Secondly, Humanity and our Common nature forbids to *turne oure eyes from oure own flesh,* yea commands vs to loue our neighbours (though of another Nation and Religion as the wounded Jew was to him), to recouer them if it be possible, as by religion *from the power of Sathan, to God,* so by humanity and ciuility from Barbarisme and Sauagenesse to good manners and humaine polity.

"Thirdly, the Honour of our Nation enioyneth vs not basely to loose the glory of our forefathers' acts, which here haue beene shewed in King *Henry* the Seuenth, King *Henry* the eighth, King *Edward* the Sixt, and Queene *Elizabeth's* times, all which illustrated their names by Discovery of Realmes remote.

"Fourthly, we may reckon the Honour of our King, and his Royall posterity; to which in time *Virginia* may performe as much with equal manuring as euer *Britannia* and *Ireland* could promise when first they became knowne to the then ciuiller World.

"Fifthly, the honour of the Kingdome, thus growing and multiplying into Kingdomes, that as Scotland and England seeme sisters, so Virginia, New England, New-found-land, in the Continent already planted in part with English Colonies together with Bermuda and other Ilands, may be adopted and legal daughters of England.

"Hail then, al-haile *Virginia*, hope of our decayed Forrests, Nursery of our Timbers, second supply to our Shipping, the *succenturiatæ copiæ* in distresse of Nauall materials; and those independent on forreine states disburthened of Taxes, Customes, Impositions, and suspensions of forreine princes."

No. 9. Page 301.

A Conversation of Cromwell with Whitelock.

It was about this time (November, 1652), says Whitelock, that the Lord-General, Cromwell, meeting with him, saluted him with more than ordinary courtesy, and desired him to walk aside with him, that they might have some private discourse together: that Whitelock waited on him, and he began the discourse, which was to the following effect:

CROMWELL.—"My Lord Whitelock, I know your faithfulness and engagement in the same good cause with myself and the rest of our friends, and I know your ability and judgment, and your particular friendship and affection for me; indeed, I am sufficiently satisfied in these things, and therefore I desire to advise with you in the main and most important affairs relative to our present condition."

WHITELOCK.—"Your Excellency hath known me long, and, I think, will say, that you never knew any unfaithfulness, or breach of trust by me; and, for my particular affection to your person, your favours to me, and your public services, have deserved more than I can manifest; only there is, with your favour, a mistake in this one thing, touching my weak judgment, which is incapable to do any considerable service for yourself, or this Commonwealth; yet, to the utmost of my power, I shall be ready to serve you, and that, with all diligence and faithfulness."

CROMWELL.—"I have cause to be, and am, without the least scruple of your faithfulness, and I know your kindness to me, your old friend, and your abilities to serve the Commonwealth, and there are enough besides me that can testify it. And, I believe, our engagements for the Commonwealth have been, and are, as deep as most men, and there never was more need of advice and solid hearty counsel, than the present state your affairs doth require."

WHITELOCK.—"I suppose no man will mention his particular engagement in this cause, at the same time when your Excellency's engagement is remembered; yet, to my capacity, and in my station, few men have engaged further than I have done, and that, beside the goodness of your own nature and personal knowledge of me, will keep you from any jealousy of my faithfulness."

CROMWELL.—"I wish there were no more ground of suspicion of others than of you; I can trust you with my life, and the most secret matters relating to our business, and to that end I have now desired a little private discourse with

you; and really, my Lord, there is very great cause for us to consider the dangerous condition we are all in, and how to make good our station, to improve the mercies and successes which God hath given us, and not to be fooled out of them again, nor to be broken to pieces by our particular jarrings and animosities one against another; but to unite our counsels, and hands, and hearts, to make good what we have so dearly bought with so much hazard, blood, and treasure; and that the Lord having given us an entire conquest over our enemies, we should not now hazard all again by our private janglings, and bring those mischiefs upon ourselves which our enemies could never do."

WHITELOCK.—"My Lord, I look upon our present danger than ever it was in the field; and, as your Excellency truly observes, our proneness to destroy ourselves when our enemies could not do it. It is no strange thing for a gallant army, as yours is, after full conquest of their enemies, to grow into factions and ambitious designs, and it is a wonder to me that they are not in high mutinies, their spirits being active, and few thinking their services to be duly rewarded; and the emulation of the officers breaking out daily more and more in this time of their vacancy from their employment; besides, the private soldiers, it is to be feared, will, in this time of their idleness, grow into disorder, and it is your excellent conduct, which, under God hath kept them so long in discipline and free from mutinies."

CROMWELL.—"I have used and shall use the utmost of my poor endeavours to keep them all in order and obedience."

WHITELOCK.—"Your Excellency hath done it hitherto, even to admiration."

CROMWELL.—"Truly, God hath blessed me in it exceedingly, and I hope will do so still. Your Lordship hath observed, most truly, the inclinations of the officers of the army to particular factions and to murmurings, that they are not rewarded according to their deserts; that others who have adventured least, have gained most; and they have neither profit nor preferment, nor place in government which others hold, who have undergone no hardships nor hazards for the Commonwealth; and herein they have too much of truth; yet their insolency is very great, and their influence upon the private soldiers works them to the like discontents and murmurings. Then, as for the members of parliament, the army begins to have a strange distaste against them, and I wish there were not too much cause for

it; and really their pride, and ambition, and self-seeking, engrossing all places of honour and profit to themselves and their friends, and their daily breaking forth into new and violent parties and factions; their delays of business, and design to perpetuate themselves, and to continue the power in their own hands; their meddling in private matters between party and party, contrary to the institution of parliaments, and their injustice and partiality in these matters, and the scandalous lives of some of the chief of them; these things, my Lord, do give too much ground for people to open their mouths against them, and to dislike them. Nor can they be kept within the bounds of justice and law or reason, they themselves being the supreme power of the nation, liable to no account to any, nor to be controlled or regulated by any other power, there being none superior or co-ordinate with them. So that unless there be some authority and power so full and so high as to restrain and keep things in better order, and that may be a check to these exorbitancies, it will be impossible in human reason to prevent our ruin."

WHITELOCK.—"I confess, the danger we are in by these extravagancies and inordinate powers is more than, I doubt, is generally apprehended; yet, as to that part of it which concerns the soldiery, your Excellency's power and commission are sufficient already to restrain and keep them in their due obedience; and blessed be God, you have done it hitherto; and I doubt not, but, by your wisdom, you will be able still to do it. As to the members of parliament, I confess, the greatest difficulty lies there; your commission being from them, and they being acknowledged the supreme power of the nation, subject to no control, nor allowing any appeal from them; yet I am sure your Excellency will not look upon them as generally depraved; too many of them are much to blame in those things you have mentioned, and many unfit things have passed amongst them; but I hope well of the major part of them, when great matters come to a decision."

CROMWELL.—"My Lord, there are little hopes of a good settlement to be made by them, really there is not, but a great deal of fear that they will destroy again what the Lord hath done graciously for them and us; we all forget God, and God will forget us, and give us up to confusion, and these men will help it on if they be suffered to proceed in their ways; some course must be thought on to curb and restrain them, or we shall be ruined by them."

WHITELOCK.—"We ourselves have acknowledged them

the supreme power, and taken our commissions and authority in the highest concernments from them; and how to restrain and curb them after this, it will be hard to find out a way for it."

CROMWELL.—"What if a man should take upon himself to be a king."

WHITELOCK.—"I think that remedy would be worse than the disease."

CROMWELL.—"Why do you think so?"

WHITELOCK.—"As to your own person, the title of King would be of no advantage, because you have the full kingly power in you already, concerning the militia, as you are General. As to the nomination of Civil Officers, those whom you think fittest are seldom refused; and although you have no negative vote in the passing of laws, yet what you dislike will not easily be carried; and the taxes are already settled, and in your power to dispose the money raised: and as to foreign affairs, though the ceremonial application be made to the parliament, yet the expectation of good or bad success in it is from your Excellency, and particular solicitations of foreign ministers are made to you only. So that I apprehend, indeed, less envy, and danger, and pomp, but not less power and real opportunities of doing good in your being General, than would be if you had assumed the title of King."

CROMWELL.—"I have heard some of your profession observe, that he who is actually King, whether by election, or descent, yet being once King, all acts done by him are lawful and justifiable, as by any King who hath the Crown by inheritance from his forefathers; and that by an Act of Parliament in Henry the Seventh's time, it is safer for those who act under a King, be his title what it will, than for those who act under any other power; and surely the power of a King is so great and high, and so universally understood and reverenced by the people of this nation, that the title of it might not only indemnify in a great measure those that act under it, but likewise be of great use and advantage in such times as these to curb the insolencies of those whom the present powers cannot control, or at least are the persons themselves who are thus insolent."

WHITELOCK.—"I agree in the general what you are pleased to observe as to this title of King; but whether for your Excellency to take this title upon you, as things now are, will be for the good and advantage either of yourself and friends, or of the Commonwealth, I do very much doubt,

notwithstanding that act of Parliament, 11 Henry VII., which will be little regarded or observed to us by our enemies, if they should come to get the upper hand of us."

CROMWELL.—"What do you apprehend would be the danger of taking this title?"

WHITELOCK.—"The danger, I think, would be this: One of the main points of controversy betwixt us and our adversaries is, whether the government of this nation shall be established in monarchy, or in a free state or Commonwealth; and most of our friends have engaged with us upon the hopes of having the government settled in a free state, and to effect that, have undergone all their hazards and difficulties, they being persuaded, though I think much mistaken, that under the government of a Commonwealth they shall enjoy more liberty and right, both as to their spiritual and civil concernments, than they shall under monarchy, the pressures and dislike whereof are so fresh in their memories and sufferings. Now, if your Excellency shall take upon you the title of King, this state of your cause will be thereby wholly determined, and monarchy established in your person; and the question will be no more, whether our government shall be by a monarch or by a free state, but Cromwell or Stuart shall be our king and monarch; and that question wherein before so great parties of the nation were engaged, and which was universal, will by these means become in effect a private controversy only. Before it was national what kind of government we should have. Now it will become particular, who shall be our governor, whether of the family of the Stuarts or of the family of the Cromwells. Thus the state of our controversy being totally changed, all those who were for a Commonwealth (and they are a very great and considerable party) having their hopes therein frustrate, will desert you,—your hands will be weakened, your interests straitened, and your cause in apparent danger to be ruined."

CROMWELL.—"I confess, you speak reason in this; but what other thing can you propound that may obviate the present dangers and difficulties wherein we are all engaged?"

WHITELOCK.—"It will be the greatest difficulty to find out such an expedient. I have had many things in my private thoughts upon this business, some of which are, perhaps, not fit or safe for me to communicate."

CROMWELL.—"I pray, my Lord, what are they? You may trust me with them; there shall no prejudice come to

you by any private discourse betwixt us. I shall never betray my friend; you may be as free with me as with your own heart, and shall never suffer by it."

WHITELOCK.—"I make no scruple to put my life and fortune in your Excellency's hand, and so I shall if I impart these fancies to you, which are weak, and perhaps may prove offensive to your Excellency; therefore, my best way will be to smother them."

CROMWELL.—"Nay, I prithee, my Lord Whitelock, let me know them; be they what they will, they cannot be offensive to me, but I shall take it kindly from you; therefore, I pray do not conceal these thoughts of yours from your faithful friend."

WHITELOCK.—"Your Excellency honours me with a title far above me; and, since you are pleased to command it, I shall discover to you my thoughts herein, and humbly desire you not to take in ill part what I shall say to you."

CROMWELL.—"I shall not; but I shall take it, as I said, very kindly from you."

WHITELOCK.—"Give me leave, then, first to consider your Excellency's condition. You are environed with secret enemies. Upon the subduing of the public enemy, the officers of the army account themselves all victors, and to have had an equal share in the conquest with you. The success which God hath given us hath not a little elated their minds; and many of them are busy, and of turbulent spirits, and are not without their designs how they may dismount your Excellency, and some of themselves get up into the saddle;—how they may bring you down, and set up themselves. They want no counsel and encouragement herein: it may be from some members of parliament who may be jealous of your power and greatness, lest you should grow too high for them, and in time overmaster them; and they will plot to bring you down first, or to clip your wings."

CROMWELL.—"I thank you, that you so fully consider my condition; it is a testimony of your love to me, and care of me; and you have rightly considered it; and I may say without vanity that in my condition yours is involved, and all our friends; and those that plot my ruin, will hardly bear your continuance in any condition worthy of you. Besides this, the cause itself may possibly receive some disadvantage by the strugglings and contentions among yourselves. But what, Sir, are your thoughts for the prevention of those mischiefs which hang over our heads?"

WHITELOCK.—"Pardon me, Sir, in the next place a little to consider the condition of the King of Scots. This Prince being now, by your valour, and the success which God hath given to the parliament, and to the army under your command, reduced to a very low condition, both he and all about him cannot but be very inclinable to hearken to any terms whereby their lost hopes may be revived of his being restored to the crown, and they to their fortunes and native country. By a private treaty with him, you may secure yourself and your friends and their fortunes; you may make yourself and your posterity as great and permanent to all human probability as ever any subject was, and provide for your friends; you may put such limits to monarchical power as will secure our spiritual and civil liberties; and you may secure the cause in which we are all engaged; and this may be effectually done by having the power of the militia continued in yourself, and whom you shall agree upon after you. I propound, therefore, for your Excellency to send to the King of Scots, and to have a private treaty with him for this purpose; and I beseech you to pardon what I have said upon the occasion: it is out of my affection and service to your Excellency and to all honest men; and I humbly pray you not to have any jealousy thereupon of my approved faithfulness to your Excellency and to this Commonwealth."

CROMWELL.—"I have not, I assure you, the least distrust of your faithfulness to me and to the cause of this Commonwealth, and I think you have much reason for what you propound; but it is a matter of so high importance and difficulty, that it deserves more time of consideration and debate than is at present allowed us. We shall therefore take a further time to discourse of it."

"That with this," adds Whitelock, "the General brake off, and went into other company, and so into Whitehall, seeming by his countenance and carriage displeased with what had been said."

No. 10. Page 337.

Barbone and Scriptural Names.

This man's name was not *Barebone*, but *Barbone*. The following is the copy of a jury said to have been taken before Judge Doddridge, at the assizes holden in July, 1619, which is the more remarkable because the surnames of some of the inhabitants would seem to make them

at first sight persons of very great renown and quality: Maximilian King of Poseland, Henry Prince of Godmanchester, George Duke of Somersham, William Marquess of Stukeley, Edmund Earl of Hartford, Richard Baron of Bythorn, Stephen Pope of Newton, Stephen Cardinal of Kimbolton, Humphrey Bishop of Bugden, Robert Lord of Waseley, Robert Knight of Winwick, William Abbot of Stukeley, Robert Baron of St. Neots, William Dean of Old Neston, John Archdeacon of Paxton, Peter Esquire of Easton, Edward Friar of Ellington, Henry Monk of Stukeley, George Gentleman of Spaldech, George Priest of Graffan, Richard Deacon of Catworth, Thomas Yeoman of Barham.

Of the name of Praise-God itself, as a baptismal appellation, it may not be improper to remark, that it is scarcely more fanatical than that of Deodatus, which is to be found in the records of most of the countries of Europe.

Granger, in his "Biographical History of England," talks of his having had two brothers, the Christian name of the first of whom was *Christ came into the world to save*, and of the second, *If Christ had not died, thou hadst been damned.* He introduces his anecdote with the suspicious words, "I have been informed that there were three brothers," and adds, that "Some people, tired of the long name of the younger brother, are said to have omitted the former part of the sentence, and to have called him familiarly Damned Barebone." Another writer, the Rev. James Brome, in a book of travels over England, Scotland, and Wales, second edition, 1707, has endeavoured to render the satire more complete, by giving the names of a "jury returned in the County of Sussex, in the late rebellious troublesome times," as follows (p. 279): *Accepted* Trevor of Norsham, *Redeemed* Compton of Battel, *Faint Not* Hewet of Heathfield, *Makepeace* Heaton of Hare, *God Reward* Smart of Tysehurst, *Stand Fast on High* Stringer of Crowhurst, *Earth* Adams of Warbleton, *Called* Sower of the same, *Kill Sin* Pimple of Witham, *Return* Spelman of Watling, *Be Faithful* Joiner of Britling, *Fly Debate* Roberts of the same, *Fight the Good Fight of Faith* White of Emer, *More Fruit* Fowler of East Hodley, *Hope for* Bending of the same, *Graceful* Harding of Lewes, *Weep not* Billing of the same, *Meek* Brewer of Okeham. Both the foregoing lists are probably fictions, though Hume parades the latter to cast ridicule on the Puritans.

No. 11. Page 352.

Instrument of Government.

Verbatim copy from the Original, in Black Letter, published by his Highness the Lord Protector's special commandment, and printed by William de Gard and Henry Hills, Printers to his Highness the Lord Protector. London, 1653.

" The Government of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Dominions thereto belonging; As it was publickly declared at *Westminster*, the 16th *December*, 1653, in the presence of the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal of *England*, the Lord Maior and Aldermen of the City of *London*, divers of the Judges of the Land, the Officers of State and Army, and many other Persons of Quality, At which time and place His Highness Oliver, Lord Protector of the said Commonwealth, took a solemn oath for observing the same."

The Government of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

I. That the Supreme Legislative Authoritie of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Dominions thereto belonging, shall bee, and reside in one person and the people assembled in Parlament; the style of which person shall bee, Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

II. That the exercise of the Chief Magistracie and the administration of the Government over the said countries and dominions, and the people thereof, shall bee in the Lord Protector, assisted with a councill; The number whereof shall not exceed Twenty-one, nor be less than Thirteen.

III. That all Writs, Processes, Commissions, Patents, Grants, and other things, which now run in the name and style of the Keepers of the Libertie of England, by authoritie of Parlament, shall run in the name and style of the Lord Protector, from whom, for the future, shall bee derived all Magistracie and honours in these three nations; and shall have the power of pardons (except in case of Murder and Treason), and benefit of all forfeitures for the publick use. And shall govern the said Countries and Dominions in all things by the Advice of the Council; and according to these Presents and the Laws.

IV. That the Lord Protector, the Parlament sitting, shall dispose and order the Militia and forces both by sea and land, for the peace and good of the three Nations, by

Consent of Parlament; and that the Lord Protector, with the advice and consent of the major part of the Council, shall dispose and order the militia for the ends aforesaid in the Intervals of Parlament.

V. That the Lord Protector by the advice aforesaid shall direct, in all things, concerning the keeping and holding of a good correspondence with Foreign Kings, Princes, and States, and also with the consent of the major part of the Council have the power of War and Peace.

VI. That the Laws shall not be altered, suspended, abrogated, or repealed, nor any new Law made, nor any Tax, Charge, or Imposition laid upon the People but by Common Consent in Parlament, save only as is expressed in the 30th article.

VII. That there shall bee a Parlament Summoned to meet at Westminster upon the 3rd day of September, One thousand six hundred fifty four; and that successively a Parlament shall be summoned once in every third year, to bee accounted from the dissolution of the preceding Parlament.

VIII. That neither the Parlament to bee next summoned, nor any successive Parlaments, shall, during the time of the moneths, to bee accounted from the day of their first meeting, bee adjourned, prorogued, or dissolved without their own Consent.

IX. That as well the next, as all other successive Parlaments, shall be summoned and elected in manner hereafter exprest; That is to say, The Persons to be chosen within England, Wales, the Isles of Jersey and Guernsey, and the Town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, to sit and serv in Parlament, shall be, and not exceed, the number of Four hundred. The persons to bee chosen within Scotland, to sit in Parlament, shall bee, and not exceed, the number of Thirtie. And the Persons to bee chosen to sit in Parlament for Ireland, shall be, and not exceed, the number of Thirtie.

X. That the Persons to bee elected to sit in Parlament from time to time, for the several Counties of England, Wales, the Isles of Jersey and Guernsey, and the Town of Berwick-upon-Tweed and all places within the same respectively, shall bee, according to the proportions and numbers hereafter exprest, That is to say,

For the County of Bedford, six; viz.:
For the Town of Bedford, one
For the County of Bedford, five.

For the County of Berks, seven; viz.:
For the Borough of Abingdon, one
For the Borough of Reading, one
For the County of Berks, five.

For the County of Bucks, eight; viz.:
For the Town of Buckingham, one
For the Town of Alisburie, one
For the Borough of Wiecomb, one
For the County of Bucks, five.

For the County of Cambridge and the Isle of Ely, eight; viz.
For the Town of Cambridge, one
For the University of Cambridge, one
For the Isle of Ely, two
For the County of Cambridge, four.

For the County of Chester, five; viz.:
For the City of Chester, one
For the County of Chester, four.

For the County of Cornewall, twelve; viz.:
For the Borough of Dunishwet, otherwise Launceston, one
For the Borough of Truro, one
For the Borough of Penryn, one
For the Boroughs of Eastlow and Westlow, one
For the County of Cornewall, eight.

For the County of Cumberland, three; viz.:
For the City of Carlisle, one
For the County of Cumberland, two.

For the County of Derby, five; viz.:
For the Town of Derby, one
For the County of Derby, four.

For the County of Devon, twenty; viz.:
For the City of Exeter, two
For the Borough of Plymouth, two
For the Borough of Dartmouth, Clifton, and Hardness, one
For the Borough of Totnes, one
For the Borough of Barnstaple, one
For the Borough of Tiverton, one
For the Borough of Honyton, one
For the County of Devon, eleven.

For the County of Dorset, ten; viz.:
For the Borough of Dorchester, one
For the Borough of Weymouth and Melcomb-Regis, one
For the Borough of Lyme-Regis, one
For the Town and County of Pool, one
For the County of Dorset, six.

For the County of Durham, three; viz.:
For the City of Durham, one
For the County of Durham, two.

For the County of York, twenty-two; viz.:
For the City of York, two
For the Town of Kingston-upon-Hull, one
For the Borough of Beverley, one
For the Borough of Scarborough, one
For the Borough of Richmond, one
For the Town of Leeds, one
For the Town and Parish of Halifax, one
For the County of York, fourteen,—to be chosen distinctly by the three Ridings: That is to say, for the West Riding, six; for the East Riding, four; for the North Riding, four.

For the County of Essex, sixteen; viz.:
For the Borough of Maldon, one
For the Borough of Colchester, two
For the County of Essex, thirteen.

For the County of Gloucester, and County of the City of Gloucester, nine; viz.:
For the City of Gloucester, two
For the Borough of Tewksbury, one
For the Borough of Cirencester, one
For the County, and the County of the City of Gloucester, except the said City, five.

For the County of Hereford, six; viz.:
For the City of Hereford, one
For the Borough of Levinpster, one
For the County of Hereford, four.

For the County of Hartford, seven; viz.:
For the Town of St. Albari, one
For the Borough of Hartford, one
For the County of Hartford, five.

For the County of Huntingdon, four; viz.:
For the Borough of Huntingdon, one
For the County of Huntingdon, three.

For the County of Kent, eighteen; viz.:
For the City of Canterbury, two
For the City of Rochester, one
For the Borough of Maydston, one
For the Port of Dover, one
For the Port of Sandwich, one
For the Borough of Quinborough, one
For the County of Kent, eleven.

For the County of Lancaster, eight; viz.:
For the Borough of Preston in Anderness, one
For the Borough of Lancaster, one
For the Borough of Liverpool, one
For the Town and Parish of Manchester, one
For the County of Lancaster, four.

For the County of Leycester, six; viz.:
For the Borough of Leycester, two
For the County of Leycester, four.

For the County of Lincoln, sixteen; viz.:
For the City of Lincoln, two
For the Town of Boston, one
For the Borough of Grantham, one
For the Town of Stamford, one
For the Town of Great Grimsby, one
For the County of Lincoln, ten.

For the County of Middlesex, six; viz.:
For the City of Westminster, two
For the County of Middlesex, four.

For the City of London, six.

For the County of Monmouth, three.

For the County of Northfolk, sixteen; viz.:
For the City of Norwich, two
For the Town of Lynne-Regis, two
For the Town of Great Yarmouth, two
For the County of Northfolk, ten.

For the County of Northampton, eight; viz.:
For the City of Peterborough, one
For the Town of Northampton, one
For the County of Northampton, six.

For the County of Nottingham, six; viz.:
For the Town of Nottingham, two
For the County of Nottingham, four.

For the County of Northumberland, five; viz.:
For the Town of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, one
For the Town of Berwick, one
For the County of Northumberland, three.

For the County of Oxford, eight; viz.:
For the City of Oxford, one
For the Universitie of Oxford, one
For the Borough of Woodstock, one
For the County of Oxford, five.

For the County of Rutland, two.

For the County of Salop, eight; viz.:
For the Town of Shrewsbury, two
For the Borough of Bruges, alias Bridgenorth, one
For the Borough of Ludlow, one
For the County of Salop, four.

For the County of Stafford, six; viz.:
For the City of Litchfield, one
For the Town of Stafford, one
For the Borough of Newcastle-on-the-Line, one
For the County of Stafford, three.

For the County of Sommerset, sixteen; viz.:
For the Borough of Taunton, two
For the City of Bath, one
For the City of Wells, one
For the Borough of Bridgewater, one
For the County of Sommerset, eleven
For the City of Bristol, two.

For the County of Southampton, fourteen; viz.:
For the City of Winchester, one
For the Town of Southampton, one
For the Town of Portsmouth, one
For the Isle of Wight, two
For the Borough of Andover, one
For the County of Southampton, eight.

For the County of Suffolk, sixteen; viz.:
For the Borough of Ipswich, two
For the Borough of Bury St. Edmunds, two
For the Borough of Dunwich, one
For the Borough of Sudbury, one
For the County of Suffolk, ten.

For the County of Surrey, ten; viz.:
For the Borough of Southwark, two
For the Borough of Guilford, one
For the Borough of Rygate, one
For the County of Surrey, six.

For the County of Sussex, fourteen; viz.:
For the City of Chichester, one
For the Borough of Lewis, one
For the Borough of East-Greenstead, one
For the Borough of Arundel, one
For the Borough of Rye, one
For the County of Sussex, nine.

For the County of Westmoreland two.

For the County of Warwick seaven; viz.:
For the City of Coventry, two
For the Borough of Warwick, one
For the County of Warwick, four.

For the County of Worcester, seaven; viz.:
For the City and County of the City of Worcester, two
For the County of Worcester, five.

For the County of Wilts, fourteen; viz.:
For the City of New Sarum, two
For the Borough of Marlborough, one
For the Borough of the Devizes, one
For the County of Wilts, ten.

For the County of Anglesey; two
For the County of Brecon, two
For the County of Cardigan, two
For the County of Carmarthen, two
For the County of Carnarvon, two
For the County of Denbigh, two
For the County of Flint, two.

For the County of Glamorgan, three; viz.:
For the Town of Cardiffe, one
For the County of Glamorgan, two.

For the County of Merioneth, one
For the County of Montgomery, two.

For the County of Pembrook, three; viz.:
For the Town of Haverfordwest, one
For the County of Pembrook, two.

For the County of Radnor, two.

The distribution of the Persons to be chosen for Scotland, and the several Counties, Cities, and places within the same, shall be according to such proportions and number, as shall be agreed upon, and declared by the Lord Protector, and the major part of the Councill, before the sending forth Writs of Summons for the next Parlament. The distribution of the Persons to be chosen for Irelând, and the severall Counties, Cities, and places within the same, shall be according to such proportions and number as shall be agreed upon, and declared by the Lord Protector, and the major part of the Councill, before the sending forth Writs of Summons for the next Parlament.

XI. That the summons to Parlament shall be by Writ under the Great Seal of England, to the Sheriffs of the several and respective Counties, with such alteration as may suit with the present government, to be made by the Lord Protector and his Councill, which the Chancellour, Keeper, or Commissioners of the Great Seal, shall seal, issue, and send abroad, by warrant from the Lord Protector. If the Lord Protector shall not give warrant for issuing of Writs of Summons for the next Parlament, before the first day of June, one thousand six hundred fifty four, or for the Triennial Parlaments, before the first day of August in every third years, to be accounted as aforesaid. That when the Chancellour, Keeper, or Commissioners of the Great Seal, for the time being, shall, without any warrant or direction, within seven days after the said first day of June, 1654, seal, issue, and send abroad Writs of Summons (changing therein what is to be changed as aforesaid) to the severall and respective Sheriffs of England, Scotland, and Ireland, for summoning the Parlament to meet at Westminster, the third of September next; and shall likewise within seven days of the first day of August, in every third year, to be accounted from the dissolution of the precedent Parlament, Seal, Issue, and send abroad several Writs of Summons, changing therein what is to be changed, as aforesaid, for summoning the Parlament to meet at Westminster the first of November in that third year. That the said several and respective Sheriffs shall, within ten days after the receipt of such writs, as aforesaid, cause the same to be proclaimed and published in every market town within his County, upon the market days thereof, between twelve and three of the clock; and shall then also publish and declare the certain day of the week and moneth for choosing members to serv in Parlament for the Body of the said County, according to the

tenor of the said writ, which shall be upon Wednesday five weeks after the date of the writ; and shall likewise declare the place where the Election shall be made; for which purpose he shall appoint the most convenient place for the whole County to meet in, and shall send Precepts for Elections to be made in all and every City, Town, Borough, or place within his County, where Elections are to be made by vertve of these Presents, to the Maior, Sheriff, or other head officer of such City, Town, Borough, or place, within three days after the receipt of such writ and writs, which the said Maiors, Sheriffs, and Officers respectively, are to make publication of, and of the certain day for such Elections to be made in the said City, Town, or place aforesaid, and to cause Elections to be made accordingly.

XII. That at the day and place of Elections, the Sheriff of each County, and the said Maiors, Sheriffs, Bayliffs, and other Head Officers within their Cities, Towns, Boroughs, and places respectively, shall take view of the said elections, and shall make return into the Chancery within twenty days after the said elections, of the persons elected by the greater number of Electors, under their hands and seals, between him on the one part, and the electors on the other part; wherein shall be contained, That persons elected shall not have power to alter the Government as it is hereby setled in one single person and a Parlament.

XIII. That the Sheriff who shall wittingly and willingly make any fals return, or neglect his duty, shall incur the penalty of two thousand Marks of lawful English money; the one moyety to the Lord Protector, and the other moyety to such person as will sue for the same.

XIV. That all and every person and persons, who have ayded, advised, assisted, or abetted in any War against the Parlament, since the first day of January, one thousand six hundred forty-one (unless they have been since in the service of the Parlament, and given signal Testimony of their good Affections thereunto), shall be disabled, and be uncapable to be elected, or to give any vote in the election of any Members to serve in the next Parlament, or in the three succeeding Triennial Parlaments.

XV. That all such who have advised, assisted, or abetted the Rebellion of Ireland, shall be disabled and uncapable for ever to be elected, or to give any vote in the election of any member to serv in Parlament; as also all such who do or shall profess the Roman Catholick Religion.

XVI. That all Votes or Elections given or made contrary,

or not according to these Qualifications, shall be null and void. And if any person who is hereby made uncapable, shall give his vote for election of Members to serv in Parlament, such person shall lose and forfeit one full year's value of his real estate, and one full third part of his personal estate; one moyety thereof to the Lord Protector, and the other moyety to him or them who shall sue for the same.

XVII. That the persons who shall be elected to serv in Parlament, shall be such (and no other then such) as are persons of known Integrity, fearing God, and of good conversation, and being of the age of one-and-twenty years.

XVIII. That all and every person and persons seized or possessed to his own use, of any estate real or personal, to the value of Two hundred pounds, and not within the aforesaid Exceptions, shall be capable to elect Members to Serv in Parlament for Counties.

XIX. That the Chancellor, Keeper, or Commissioners of the Great Seal, shall be sworn before they enter into their offices, truly and faithfully to issue forth and send abroad Writs of Summons to Parlaments at the times, and in the manner before exprest; and in case of neglect or failer to issue and send abroad Writs accordingly, he or they shall for every such offence be guilty of High Treason, and suffer the pains and penalties thereof.

XX. That in case Writs be not issued out, as is before exprest, but that there be a neglect therin, fifteen days after the time wherein the same ought to be issued out by the Chancellor, Keeper, or Commissioners of the Greal Seal, that then the Parlament shall, as often as such failer shall happen, assemble and be held at Westminster, in the usual place, at the times prefit, first, in manner and by the means hereafter expressed: That is to say, that the Sheriffs of the several and respective Counties, Shrievedoms, Cities, Boroughs, and places aforesaid, within England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, the Chancellor, Master, and Scholars of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and the Maior and Bayliffs of the Borough of Berwick-upon-Tweed, and other the places aforesaid respectively, shall at the several Courts and places to be appointed as aforesaid, within Thirty days after the said Fifteen days, cause such members to be chosen for their said several and respective Counties, Shrievedoms, Universities, Cities, Boroughs, and places aforesaid, by such persons, and in such manner, as if several and respective Writs of Summons to Parlament under the Great Seal had issued and been awarded according to the tenor

abovesaid: That if the Sheriffs or other persons authorised, shall neglect his or their duty herein; That all and every such Sheriff and person authorised as aforesaid, so neglecting his or their duty, shall, for every such offence, be guilty of High Treason, and shall suffer the pains and penalties thereof.

XXI. That the Clerk, called the Clerk of the Commonwealth, in Chancery for the time being, and all others who shall afterwards execute that office, to whom the Returns shall be made, shall for the next Parlament, and the two succeeding Triennial Parlaments, the next day after such Return, certifie the Names of the several persons so Returned, and of the places for which he and they were chosen respectively, unto the Council, who shall peruse the said Returns, and examine whether the persons so Elected and Returned be such as is agreeable to the Qualifications, and not disabled to be elected: And that every person or persons being so duly elected, and being approved of by the major part of the Council to be persons not disabled, but qualified as aforesaid, shall be esteemed a Member of Parlament, and be admitted to sit in Parlament, and not otherwise.

XXII. That the persons chosen and assembled in manner aforesaid, or any sixty of them, shall be, and be deemed the Parlament of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and the Supream Legislative Power to be and reside in the Lord Protector and such Parlament, in manner herein exprest.

XXIII. That the Lord Protector, with the advice of the major part of the Council, shall at any other time then is before exprest, when the necessities of the State shall require it, summon Parlaments in the manner before exprest, which shall not be Adjourned, Prorogued, or Dissolved, without their own consent, during the first three moneths of their sitting: And in case of future War with any Foreign State, a Parlament shall be forthwith Summoned for their advice concerning the same.

XXIV. That all Bills agreed unto by the Parlament, shall be presented to the Lord Protector for his consent; and in case he shall not give his consent thereto, within Twenty days after they shall be presented to him, or give satisfaction to the Parlament within the time limited; That then, upon Declaration of the Parlament, That the Lord Protector hath not consented nor given Satisfaction, such Bills shall pass into, and become Laws, although he shall not give his consent thereunto; provided such Bills contein nothing in them contrary to the matters conteined in these Presents.

XXV. That Philip Lord Viscount Lisle, Charles Fleetwood, Esquire, Sir Gilbert Pickering, Baronet, Sir Charles Wolseley, Baronet, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Bar., Edward Montagu, Esq., John Desborow, Esq., Walter Strickland, Esq., Henry Lawrence, Esq., William Sydenham, Esq., Philip Jones, Esq., Richard Major, Esq., Francis Rous, Phil. Skippon, Esqs., or any seven of them, shall be a Council for the purposes exprest in this Writing; and upon the death or other removal of any of them, the Parlament shall nominate six persons of Ability, Integrity, and fearing God, for every one that is dead or removed, out of which the Council shall elect two, and present them to the Lord Protector, of which he shall elect one; And in case the Parlament shall not nominate, within Twenty days after notice given unto them thereof, the major part of the Council shall nominate three as aforesaid to the Lord Protector, who out of them shall supply the vacancy; And until this choice be made, the remaining part of the Council shall execute as fully in all things, as if their number were full: And in case of Corruption, or other miscarriage in any of the Council in their Trust, the Parlament shall appoint seven of their numbers, and the Council six, who, together with the Lord Chancellor, Lord Keeper, or Commissioners of the Great Seal for the time being, shall have power to hear and determine such corruption and miscarriage, and to award and inflict punishment, as the nature of the offence shall deserv, which punishment shall not be pardoned or remitted by the Lord Protector: And in the interval of Parlaments, the major part of the Council, with the consent of the Lord Protector, may, for Corruption or other miscarriage as aforesaid, suspend any of their number from the exercise of their Trust, if they shall finde it just, until the matter shall be heard and examined as aforesaid.

XXVI. That the Lord Protector and the major part of the Council aforesaid, may at any time before the meeting of the next Parlament, add to the Council such persons as they shall think fit; provided the number of the Council be not made thereby to exceed one and twenty, and the Quorum to be proportioned accordingly by the Lord Protector and the major part of the Council.

XXVII. That a constant yearly Revenue shall be raised, setled, and establisht for maintaining of Ten thousand horse and Dragoons, and Twenty thousand foot in England, Scotland, and Ireland, for the Defence and Security thereof, and also for a convenient number of ships for guarding of the Seas;

besides Two hundred thousand pounds per annum for defraying the other necessary Charges for administration of Justice, and other expenses of the Government: Which Revenue shall be raised by the Customs and such other Ways and means as shall be agreed upon by the Lord Protector and Council, and shall not be taken away or diminisht, nor the Way agreed upon for raising the same altered, but by the consent of the Lord Protector and the Parlament.

XXVIII. That the said yearly Revenue shall be paid into the Publick Treasury, and shall be issued out for the Uses aforesaid.

XXIX. That in case there shall not be cause hereafter to keep up so great a Defence at Land or Sea, but that there be an abatement made thereof; the money which will be saved thereby, shall remain in bank for the Publique Service, and not be employed to any other use but by consent of Parlament; or in the intervals of Parlament, by the Lord Protector and major part of the Council.

XXX. That the raising of money for defraying the Charge of present extraordinary Forces both at Land and Sea, in respect of the present Wars, shall be by consent in Parlament, and not otherwise; save only that the Lord Protector, with the consent of the major part of the Council, for preventing the Disorders and the Dangers which may otherwise fall out both at Sea and Land, shall have Power, until the meeting of the first Parlament, to raise money for the purposes aforesaid, and also to make Laws and Ordinances for the Peace and welfare of these Nations, where it shall be necessary, which shall be binding and in force, until Order shall be taken in Parlament concerning the same.

XXXI. That the Lands, Tenements, Rents, Royalties, Jurisdictions, and Hereditaments, which remain yet unsold or undisposed of by Act or Ordinance of Parlament, belonging to the Commonwealth (except the Forests, and Chases, and the Honours, and Manors belonging to the same; the Lands of the Rebels in Ireland, lying in the four Counties of Dublin, Cork, Kildare, and Katerlaugh; the Lands forfeited by the people of Scotland in the late wars; and also the Lands of Papists and Delinquents in England who have not yet compounded), shall be vested in the Lord Protector, To hold, to him and to his successors, Lord Protectors of these nations, and shall not be alienated but by consent in Parlament: And all Debts, Fines, Issues, Amerciaments, Penalties and Profits, certain and casual, due to the Keepers of the Liberties of England by Authority of

Parlament, shall be due to the Lord Protector, and be payable into his Publique Receipt, and shall be recovered and prosecuted in his name.

XXXII. That the office of Lord Protector over these nations shall be Elective, and not Hereditary, and upon the death of the Lord Protector, another fit person shall be forthwith elected to succeed him in the Government, which election shall be by the Council, who, immediately upon the death of the Lord Protector, shall assemble in the chamber where they usually sit in Council, and having given notice to all their number of the cause of their assembling, shall, being Thirteen at least present, proceed to the election, and before they depart out of the said Chamber, shall elect a fit person to succeed in the Government, and forthwith cause Proclamation thereof to be made in all the three nations as shall be requisite: And the person that they, or the major part of them, shall elect as aforesaid, shall be, and shall be taken to be, Lord Protector over these Nations of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Dominions thereto belonging: Provided that none of the Children of the late King, nor any of his Line or Family, be elected to be Lord Protector, or other Chief Magistrate over these Nations, or any the Dominions thereto belonging. And until the aforesaid Election be past, the Council shall take care of the Government, and administer in all things as fully as the Lord Protector, or the Lord Protector and Council are enabled to do.

XXXIII. That Oliver Cromwell, Captain-General of the Forces of England, Scotland, and Ireland, shall be, and is hereby declared to be, Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Dominions thereto belonging, for his life.

XXXIV. That the Chancellor, Keeper, or Commissioners of the Great Seal, the Treasurer, Admiral, Chief Governors of Ireland and Scotland, and the Chief Justices of both the Benches, shall be chosen by the approbation of Parlament, and, in the intervals of Parlament, by the approbation of the major part of the Council, to be afterwards approved by the Parlament.

XXXV. That the Christian religion contained in the Scriptures be held forth and recommended as the publique Profession of these nations, and that, as soon as may be, a provision less subject to scruple and contention, and more certain than the present, be made for the Encouragement and Maintenance of able and painful Teachers for Instructing the people, and for discovery and confutation of Error, Heresie, and whatever is contrary to sound Doctrine: And

that, until such Provision be made, the present Maintenance shall not be taken away nor impeached.

XXXVI. That to the publique Profession held forth, none shall be compelled by penalties or otherwise, but that endeavours be used to win them by sound Doctrine and the Example of a good Conversation.

XXXVII. That such as profess Faith in God by Jesus Christ (though differing in judgement from the Doctrine, Worship, or Discipline publiquely held forth) shall not be restrained from, but shall be protected in the profession of the Faith, and exercise of their Religion; so as they abuse not this liberty to the Civil Injury of others, and to the actual disturbance of the publique peace on their parts. Provided this liberty be not extended to Popery or Prelacy, nor to such as, under the profession of Christ, hold forth and practise Licentiousness.

XXXVIII. That all Laws, Statutes, Ordinances, and Clauses in any Law, Statute, and Ordinance to the contrary of the aforesaid Liberty, shall be esteemed as null and void.

XXXIX. That the Acts and Ordinances of Parlament, made for the Sale or other Disposition of the Lands, Rents, and Hereditaments of the late King, Queen, and Prince, of Archbishops, Bishops, &c., Deans and Chapters, the Lands of Delinquents, and Forest Lands, or any of them; or of any other Lands, Tenements, Rents, and Hereditaments belonging to the Commonwealth, shall no way be impeached or made invalid; but shall remain good and firm: And that the Securities given by Act and Ordinance of Parlament for any sum or sums of money, by any of the said Lands, the Excise, or by any other publique Revenue; and also the securities given by the publique Faith of the Nation; and the engagement of the publick Faith for satisfaction of debts and damages, shall remain firm and good, and not be made void and invalid upon any pretence whatsoever.

XL. That the Articles given to, or made with the enemy, and afterwards confirmed by Parlament, shall be performed and made good to the persons concerned therein. And that such Appeals, as were depending in the last Parlament, for relief concerning Bills of Sale of Delinquents' Estates, may be heard and determined the next Parlament, Anything in this Writing or otherwise to the contrary notwithstanding.

XLI. That every successive Lord Protector over these Nations shall take and subscribe a Solemn Oath, in the presence of the Council, and such others as they shall call to them, That he will seek the Peace, Quiet, and Welfare of

these Nations, Caus Law and Justice to be equally administered, and that he will not violate or infringe the matters and things Contained in this Writing; and in all other things will to his power, and to the best of his understanding, govern these Nations according to the Laws, Statutes, and Customs.

XLII. That each person of the Council shall, before they enter upon their Trust, take and subscribe an Oath, That they will be true and faithful in their Trust, according to the best of their knowledg; And, that in the Election of every Successive Lord Protector, they shall proceed therein impartially, and do nothing therein for any promise, fear, favor, or reward.

The Oath taken by his Highness Oliver Cromwell, Lord Protector.

Whereas the Major part of the last Parliament (judging that their sitting any longer, as then constituted, would not be for the good of this Commonwealth) did dissolve the same, and by a Writing under their hands, dated the twelfth day of this instant, *December*, resigned unto Mee their Powers and Authorities; And Whereas it was necessary thereupon, That som speedy cours should be taken for the settlement of these Nations upon such a Basis and foundation as, by the blessing of God, might be lasting, secure Property, and answer those great ends of Religion and Liberty, so long contended for; and upon full and mature Consideration had of the Form of Government hereunto annexed, being satisfied that the same, through divine assistance, may answer the Ends afore mentioned; And having also been desired and advised, as well by several persons of Interest and Fidelity in this Commonwealth, as the Officers of the Army, to take upon mee the Protector and Government of these Nations in the manner expressed in the said Form of Government, I have accepted thereof, and do hereby declare my acceptance accordingly. And do promise in the presence of God, That I will not violate or infringe the matters and things contained therein, but, to my power, observe the same, and cause them to be observed; And shall in all other things, to the best of my understanding, Govern these Nations according to the Laws, Statutes, and Customs, seeking their Peace, and causing Justice and Law to be equally administered.

O. CROMWELL.

Oliver Cromwell, *Captain-General of all the Forces of this Commonwealth, and now declared* Lord Protector *thereof, did*

this sixteenth day of December, 1653, *sign this Writing, and solemnly promise, as is therein contained, in presence of the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal of* England, *who administered the same Oath, and of the Lord Maior and Aldermen of the City of* London, *divers of the Judges of the Land, the Officers of State and Army, and many other persons of quality.*

No. 12. Page 438.

Foreign Ambassadors at the Court of the Lord Protector.

Sagredo from Venice.

The Venetian ambassador, Sagredo, who had lately arrived as ambassador extraordinar, thus describes the power of Cromwell: 'Non fa caro nome, gli basta possedere l'autorità è la potenza, senza comparazione majore non solo di quanti re siorno stati in Inghilterra, ma di quanti monarchi stringono. Smentite le legge fondamentali del regno, egli è il solo legislatore; tutti i governi escono dalle sue mane è quelli del consiglio, per entrarvi, devono essere nominati da sua altezza, ne possono divenir grandi, se non da lui inalzati. E perchè alcuno non abbia modo di guadagnar autorità sopra l'armata, tutti gli avanzamenti, senza passar par alcun mezzo, sono da lui direttamente conosciuti."—*Sagredo MS.*, p. 438. He was a learned historian, author of a "History of Turkey," and other works.

Embassy of Crequi.

The following is an extract from the "Diary of Dr. Henry Sampson." The fact contained in it is given on the authority of Sir Thomas Rokeby, who was a judge, first of the Common Pleas and next of the King's Bench, after the Restoration. He "was present at the delivery of the letter mentioned in the extract, and reported what passed on the occasion" to the narrator.—*Sloane MSS.*, No. 4460, p. 22.

"The Protector was in the banqueting-house to receive the Duke of Crequi as ambassador from the French king. Great was the state and the crowd: the ambassador made his speech and compliments. After which, he delivered a letter, superscribed, 'To his most Serene Highness Oliver, Lord Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland.' The Protector looks wistfully upon the letter, puts it in his pocket, and turns away, without speaking a word or opening it. The ambassador was highly vexed at this, and, as soon as he could meet with Secretary Thurloe, expostulated with him for the affront and indignity offered to his master, so

great a prince, asking what he thought might be the cause? Thurloe answered, he thought the Protector might be displeased with the superscription of the letter. The Duke said he conceived it was agreeable to custom, and in terms the most respectful. 'But,' says Thurloe, 'my master expected it should have been addressed to our dear brother Oliver.'"

It is said the ambassador writing this over to France, the king exclaimed, "Shall I call such a fellow my brother?" To which Mazarin replied, "Aye, call him your father, if need be, if so you can get of him what you desire." And a letter was accordingly despatched having the desired superscription.

The following is an extract from Wicquefort's "History:"

"If there euer appeared in any state," says Wicquefort, "a chief who was at the same time both tyrant and usurper, most certainly Oliver Cromwell was such: and yet for all that neuer was there an usurper so solemnly acknowledged. Immediately after the death of the late king, Don Alonso de Cardenas, ambassador from Spain, legitimated this bastard republick; and Oliver had no sooner made himself sovereign, under the quality of Protector, than all the kings of the earth prostrated themselves before this idol. To gratify him, the lawful king (Charles II.), with his brothers, were driven out of those kingdoms and provinces, that ought to have served him as places of refuge or asylumns. Lockart, who was ambassador from the usurper, was not only received in France with all the honours that could be done to the minister of the first monarch of Christendom, but Cardinal Mazarin even refused to see the King of Great Britain, who had travelled quite through the kingdom to come to him at the foot of the Pyrenean hills, and would not as much as speak to the person who came from him, and waited at the door of the chief minister, who at the same time had daily conferences with the usurper's. All that the dispossessed king could obtain was, that the cardinal gave him leave that the Duke of Ormond should speak to him as he passed along, and as it were accidentally, as he came from his own quarters to the isle of the conference.

"The King of Spain, who was brother-in-law to the deceased king, behaved himself a little better. He suffered the son to be at safety in Brussells, where he also met with some civilities; and his chief minister, Don Lewis de Haro, at the Pyrenean hills, showed him that respect which the

cardinal refused him. The King of France being advanced as far as the frontiers of Flanders, the Protector sent Falconbridge, his son-in-law, to pay him those civilities which sovereigns are used to show one another on like occasions: and the Duke de Crequiy, one of the first lords of France next to the princes, was sent to London to thank the usurper for his civilities; and that nothing might be wanting to the ceremony, the cardinal would have his nephew, Mancini, accompany the duke. The difference that is to be seen in the behaviour of these two Kings of France and Spain, who were both nearly related to the King of England, proceeded only from the difference of their interest. The Spanish ambassador had used his utmost endeavours with the usurper to engage him in the interest of the king his master; even to the offering him a hundred thousand crowns per month, two hundred thousand by way of advance, and an army of 20,000 men to re-conquer Calice. Cromwell had rejected these offers; and as he feared more the neighbourhood of France, than he hoped for advantage from the languishing and remote strength of Spain, he sided with the first, whose friend he became, by that means obliging the other to be so to the King of Great Britain, whose three kingdoms he had usurped."*

No. 13. Page 464.

Cromwell's Instructions to Blake and Montague.

He knew the right way to go to work with the Portuguese, and he took it. This appears from the instructions he gave, May 6, 1656, to the Generals Blake and Montague, in the following words:

"Whereas the King of Portugal doth refuse to ratify the treaties lately made with this Commonwealth by his extraordinary ambassador here, or to perform any part thereof, either in what relates to the State, or to the people and merchants; and by his proceedings gives ground to believe, that nothing is less in his intentions, than to give just satisfaction therein; wherefore we do hereby authorise and require you, as it will consist with the present condition of the fleet under your command, and with your other principal instructions, to use your best endeavours, by the fleet, or such part thereof as you shall judge necessary, to take, arrest, and seize upon the fleet or fleets belonging to the King of Portugal, or any of his

* "Embassador and his Functions," p. 17.

subjects, with their guns, cash, goods, and merchandizes whatever, now expected from the East and West Indies, and to keep and deteyne the same without breaking of bulk or embezilment, towards such satisfaction for the wrongs and damages which this State hath suffered from Portugal, and to give notice forthwith of what you shall do therein. And in case any of the ships of the said king or his people shall make any resistance, you have hereby power to fight with, kill and destroy, and to seek for, and burn all such as shall so resist. Nevertheless, if Mr. Philip Meadows, our envoy with the King of Portugal, shall before any seizure or act of hostility as aforesaid, give you assurance that satisfaction is obtained upon the said treaties, that this instruction shall be void."—*Thurloe*, vol. iv., p. 769.

"The admirals, on the receipt hereof, sailed towards Lisbon, and made known their orders to the English agent, who informing the court, obtained a speedy signing of the treaty by the king, and a very large sum of money for satisfaction, which was shipped on board the fleet and sent to England."—*Thurloe*, vol. v., pp. 123, 124, 125.

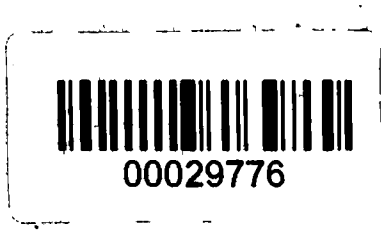
Montague, indeed, seems not to have been well pleased with the peace. He thought they had now Portugal at mercy, and should have imposed more rigorous terms. "You have," says he in a letter to Thurloe, dated June 17, 1656, "at this time the Portugal upon his knees, and if we had authority to make further demands, we might ask what we would (almost), and he durst not but perform it, or his country would be all in rebellion. But this is to no purpose, the season being past."

Burnet says: "Cromwell's maintaining the honour of the nation in all foreign countries, gratified the vanity which is very natural to Englishmen, of which he was so careful, that though he was not a crowned head, yet his ambassadors had all the respect paid them which our king's ambassadors ever had. He said the dignity of the crown was upon the account of the nation, of which the king was only the representative head, so the nation being still the same, he would have the same regard paid to his ministers. Another instance of this pleased him much. Blake with the fleet happened to be at Malaga before he made war upon Spain; and some of his seamen went on shore and met the Hostie carried about; and not only paid no respect to it, but laughed at those who did. So one of the priests put the people on resenting this indignity; and they fell upon them and beat them severely. When they returned to their ship,

they complained of this usage; and upon that, Blake sent a trumpet to the viceroy, to demand the priest who was the chief in that ill usage. The viceroy answered he had no authority over the priest, and so could not dispose of him. Blake upon that sent him word, that he would not inquire who had the power to send the priest to him, but if he were not to send within three hours, he would burn the town; and they, being in no condition to resist him, sent the priest to him, who justified himself on the petulant behaviour of the seamen. Blake answered, that if he had sent a complaint to him of it, he would have punished them severely, since he would not suffer his men to affront the established religion of any place at which he touched; but he took it ill that he set on the Spaniards to do it, for he would have all the world to know, that an Englishman was only to be punished by an Englishman. So he treated the priest civilly, and sent him back, being satisfied that he had him at his mercy. Cromwell was much delighted with this, and read the letters in Council with great satisfaction!!

THE END.

WHITING, BEAUFORT HOUSE, STRAND.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